

NDI Final Report

NAMIBIA: CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY PHASE II

USAID Cooperative Agreement No. 690-A-00-00-00235-00

Project Dates: September 25, 2000 to September 30, 2004

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since its independence 1990, Namibia has made significant strides in establishing and consolidating democratic institutions and processes. Parliament better reflects its representative role and has developed structures to respond to citizens' concerns. Increased interaction is evident between parliamentary committees and the executive branch, and members of parliament (MPs) regularly participate in debates that take into account the interests of Namibian citizens in public policy issues. Despite progress, however, parliament continued to lack some essential structures for sustainability. Challenges also remained in citizen access to parliamentary information in Namibia's highly centralized government system, and civil society organizations had not fully assumed their role as advocates for public interest and as watchdogs of the government.

With support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), during the past 10 years, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and its Namibian partners in parliament and civil society have been working to support the country's democratic transition. In September 2000, NDI initiated a program to further support the consolidation of parliamentary democracy and increase citizen participation in the legislative process in Namibia. This program represented the continuation of NDI's work under two previous USAID agreements: *Namibia: Consolidating Parliamentary Democracy* (Cooperative Agreement No. 690-A-00-98-00228-00); and *Namibia: Democratic Institution Building* (Grant No. 673-0007-G-00-514-00). NDI received a one-year extension to the cooperative agreement in 2002 and additional funding in 2003 for its continued activities with parliament and civil society, as well as to initiate work with political parties.

Throughout the program, NDI provided assistance to both houses of parliament, conducted advocacy training for civil society organizations, implemented capacity building programs for media and strengthened the management and organizational capacity of political parties. NDI's program sought to contribute to the USAID/Namibia's Strategic Objective #4: Increased Accountability of Parliament to all Namibian Citizens. Specific objectives were the following:

- Parliament creates the structures and develops the skills to function as an independent branch of national government distinct from the executive and the judiciary;
- The National Council and National Assembly establish, maintain and expand mechanisms for citizen input into the national policymaking process;
- Members and staff of the National Council and National Assembly enhance their capacity to carry out legislative and outreach functions;
- Civil society increases its capacity to participate in Namibia's democratic institutions and processes particularly parliament;
- Program sustainability is achieved through collaboration, increased delegation and transfer of roles and responsibilities to indigenous Namibian partners, including the development of a Democracy Support Center; and
- Political parties enhance their organizational and management capacity and strengthen their resource mobilization and membership recruitment strategies to develop political leaders that can serve as a mechanism for increased public participation.

NDI's program focused on a variety of institution-building and skills-building activities for both legislators and civil society to support a strong and sustainable democratic system. Program activities included: strengthening the internal workings of parliament through ongoing consultations on the budget process, training parliamentary clerks on committee processes and conducting public hearings on legislation; increasing citizen participation by enhancing public access to parliamentary information and proceedings through innovative use of information technology; initiating a constituency outreach effort using a mobile training unit; providing technical and financial assistance to local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to increase their ability to participate in political and legislative processes and advocate for public interest; working with political parties through consultations and workshops to increase their capacity and prepare for upcoming elections; and developing a Democracy Support Center (DSC) that will enable indigenous groups to continue sustaining democratic development in Namibia.

The program resulted in a number of notable achievements, including:

- Parliament regularly conducted constituency outreach activities and has assumed responsibility for organizing and conducting outreach to solicit public input into the legislative process, including regional outreach tours outside the capital using a mobile training unit and facilitated by the Speaker of the National Assembly.
- Parliament conducted its first *Democracy and Development Expo*, attended by more than 3,000 participants from government, civil society and the media, and has adopted the forum as a way to increase its links with the public. The presence of parliamentarians in parliament gardens to talk to members of the public, as well as the radio talk shows in indigenous languages hosted by parliamentarians contributed significantly to the accomplishment of increased accountability to and interaction with citizens.
- National Council committees now conduct public hearings in regions throughout the country to solicit citizen input in the legislative process; the numbers of public hearings conducted and the number of bills garnering public debate increased steadily throughout the program.
- NDI equipped parliament with its own radio and television production studio, which has already began live broadcasting of legislative and committee proceedings. The Constituency Channel is expanding linkages between parliament and the public through its coverage.

- Civil society groups have increased their interaction with parliament and capacity to advocate for citizen interests in a number of priority issue areas including land reform, women's rights, ethics and the national budget process.
- Parliament launched its first public website and instituted an information management system that provides access to legislative information; parliament formed a committee to maintain the system and provide training to members and staff to ensure sustainability.
- NDI political party training helped all political parties prepare for upcoming elections by improving regional and local activists' resource mobilization and planning skills, internal communication mechanisms, message development skills and outreach strategies.

All of the Institute's activities sought to provide participants with skills and information that would survive the life of NDI in Namibia. At the end of the program, USAID awarded a follow-on cooperative agreement to one of NDI's principal local partners, the Namibian Institute of Democracy (NID). This organization will manage the Democracy Support Center, which will continue many of the successful programs that NDI developed over the years. The DSC will be governed by a consortium of local entities — providing extraordinary opportunity for sustainability and ownership of democracy and governance support at the local level.

II. BACKGROUND

Since Namibia's independence in 1990, with funding from USAID, NDI has been providing technical assistance and support to consolidate democratic institutions during the county's transition to democracy. Over the past 10 years, NDI and its Namibian partners in parliament and civil society have made significant strides in achieving their objectives. Parliament has made considerable progress since independence. The institution better reflects its representative role and has developed structures to respond to citizens' concerns. Parliament is also enlarging its oversight role, demonstrating constructive interaction between parliamentary committees and agents of the executive, and recognising its role as an institution that can build consensus and resolve conflicts on matters of public policy. MPs participate in rigorous debate, reflecting the interests of the Namibian citizens.

The National Assembly and National Council both revised their rules and procedures to better organize the business of the two houses. Revisions included referring bills to committees, tabling committee reports and recommendations within defined time frames, and developing calendars to accommodate non-legislative procedures, such as question time, petitions and time for speeches and statements. The parliament also established provisions that assisted it in operating in a more transparent and accountable manner. Of particular note, the National Assembly adopted a code of conduct for MPs. Both houses made substantial progress in establishing an independent Parliamentary Service to oversee the staffing of the legislative branch, which would enable parliament to manage its administration and personnel without executive interference.

Despite this progress, parliament continued to lack some essential structures for sustainability. After 10 years of independence, parliament did not possess the autonomy required to sufficiently check the executive. The Agenda for Change, adopted in 1998, identified the presence of the executive in parliament as a major weakness of the legislative institution.

The National Council, in particular, had yet to fully institutionalise its role in Namibia's parliamentary system as an effective check to the National Assembly. More than 50 percent of the Council's MPs were elected in 1999 and were still in the process of learning their policymaking role and how to represent the interests of their constituencies. The National Council hired a regional liaison and training officer, to work with regional councillors to increase regional inputs into legislation and facilitate a two-way flow of information between the National Council and the stakeholders in the regions. Because National Council committees were only officially constituted in June 1999, they required considerable capacity building support to function effectively. NDI's program helped the National Council committees develop oversight skills to focus on the impact of regional and local government policies in their regions.

Prior to 2000, with some notable exceptions, civil society organizations did not see their role as watchdogs of the government. While civil society had made some important strides in the development of advocacy strategies, particularly in the areas of the budget, women's issues, land and elections, overall, relatively few efforts had resulted in concrete policy changes. Where advocacy efforts resulted in policy changes, amendments or withdrawal of legislation, civil society organizations failed to regularly and effectively monitor the processes related to these changes. While the media routinely reported on important policy debates, its understanding and analysis of legislation and legislative processes remained relatively weak. Challenges also remained in citizen access to parliamentary information in the highly centralized government system. As a result, NDI's program sought to address the need for greater participation of civic organization in the legislative process.

In response to these institutional weaknesses, the goal of the Institute's program was to facilitate institutional sustainability in the consolidation of democracy. Phase Two of NDI's Consolidation of Democracy program emphasized building the capacity of the National Council – both internally and externally. In addition to its work with parliament, NDI continued to support civil society to a limited degree by conducting program activities in the policy areas of the national budget, gender and ethics issues. In October 2003, NDI received additional USAID support to work with political parties.

NDI's program sought to support USAID/Namibia's Strategic Objective #4: *Increased Accountability of Parliament to all Namibian Citizens*.

The collective program goals and objectives for all phases of the program were as follows:

- Parliament creates the structures and develops the skills to function as an independent branch of national government distinct from the executive and the judiciary;
- The National Council and National Assembly establish, maintain and expand mechanisms for citizen input into the national policymaking process;
- Members and staff of the National Council and National Assembly enhance their capacity to carry out legislative and outreach functions;
- Civil society increases its capacity to participate in Namibia's democratic institutions and processes particularly parliament;
- Program sustainability is achieved through collaboration, increased delegation and transfer of

- roles and responsibilities to indigenous Namibian partners, including the development of a Democracy Support Center; and
- Political parties enhance their organizational and management capacity and strengthen their resource mobilization and membership recruitment strategies to develop political leaders that can serve as a mechanism for increased public participation.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

From September 2000 to 2004, NDI provided assistance to both houses of parliament, conducted advocacy training for civil society organizations, implemented capacity building programs for media and strengthened the management and organizational capacity of political parties. Following is a description of activities conducted by major program area in chronological order.

A. Parliamentary Programs: National Assembly and National Council

The Institute worked in partnership with the National Assembly and the National Council to strengthen the institutional capacity of both houses of parliament. NDI's program aimed to promote accountability of elected leaders, create transparency in the legislative process and increase citizen access to the decisionmaking process. NDI's approach was two-pronged: 1) to strengthen the institutional capacity within parliament, thereby increasing its ability to function as an independent branch of government; and 2) to expand the role of civil society organizations and media in the legislative process.

- **January-March, 2001** NDI conducted ongoing consultations with the chairman of the National Council to discuss the launch of parliament's Information Management System (IMS) as well as computer training for National Council members, staff, regional governors and regional staff.
- February 2001 The National Assembly held a workshop to draft amendments to its committee rules (the first in a series of three workshops on related topics). Attendees included Acting Secretary Ndjarakana, the deputy secretary, the director of committee services, two legal counsels to the National Assembly, two principal assistant clerks and a committee clerk. NDI Senior Program Officer Richard Salazar also participated in the workshop, which was initiated and funded entirely by the National Assembly. Participants received copies of the draft committee rules, standing rules and orders of the National Council and the powers, privileges and immunities of MPs. Participants were asked to develop rules for problems such as the number of unexcused absences that constitute grounds for an MP's removal from office.
- March 2001 In response to requests from MPs, NDI and the Namibia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI) organized a budget workshop, which was attended by 20 National Assembly MPs, including four women, six deputy ministers, two ministers, the deputy speaker and six opposition members. The workshop was held soon after the national budget was tabled in the National Assembly. NDI provided all participants with its booklet Understanding the National Budget and other materials from the two presenters.

- March 2001 The National Assembly held a workshop on March 16 and 19 to evaluate and draft a code of conduct for members. NDI provided comparative research, documentation, technical advice and partial funding for the workshop. Participants discussed how to determine which information about members should be made public and which should remain private and the procedures for disclosing information. Speaker of the National Assembly Tjitendero initiated the workshop in order to clearly define the obligations of members under the Code of Conduct and Ethics and the Powers, Privileges and Immunities of Parliament Act of 1996.
- April 2001 During its previous cooperative agreement, NDI its local partner, the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), jointly conducted the Bill Summary Program to increase the capacity of parliamentary staff to produce and distribute bill summaries to MPs, civil society organisations and other interested groups. In April, former participants met to institutionalise the bill summary process, including representative from parliament, the LAC and NDI. All parties agreed that a system for evaluating the bill summaries would be developed to ensure their effectiveness and quarterly meetings would take place to support the process and quality of summaries.
- **July 2001** NDI provided technical and financial support to the parliament to host a regional governance conference entitled: *Strengthening Parliament's Contribution to Good Governance*. The conference represented a joint effort of parliament, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and NDI, and was part of a series of African Governance Fora (AGF), jointly initiated by UNDP and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).
- **April-September 2001** In collaboration with the National Assembly, NDI conducted two workshops related to standing rules and orders (SROs) and committee rules. The workshop aimed to: propose amendments to the SROs and committee rules; and provide participants with the skills necessary to support an effective legislative process and increase parliament's capacity to exercise its oversight function *vis-à-vis* the executive branch. The two workshops were follow-on to a previous workshop on this subject held in February 2001.
- October 2001-April 2002 NDI's Constituency Handbook for Elected Representatives in Namibia for National Council MPs, was finally endorsed by stakeholders inside and outside parliament. The guide is a tool to assist National Council members to initiate constituency projects and to mobilize resources and resulted from numerous collaborative meetings with all National Council committee chairpersons.
- March 2002 NDI launched the private member bill initiative to enhance the legislative power and independence of parliament *vis-à-vis* the executive. A secondary objective of the program was to develop an understanding of the value of private member bills as a political tool, regardless of whether such bills become law. Preliminary activities focused on establishing a process for members of parliament to initiate legislation independent of the executive.

The first step in the initiative was a series of roundtables discussions attended by the presiding officers, secretaries, legal counsel, key secretariat members and the representative of the Attorney General's Office who engaged in discussion and debate to construct a private member bill process. NDI prepared comparative research on private member bill processes in other countries, which was distributed in advance to the participants. The roundtables resulted in lively discussions and resolution of fundamental legal issues. Key among these was the decision to create two separate processes. One process set a procedure for private member bills; a separate process was created for National Council recommendations allowed under Article 74.

Two subsequent roundtables were held in March, during which participants continued to work meticulously on building the processes. Results of the roundtables included: a draft of a standing rule and order to institute National Council recommendations; and a draft flow chart depicting the steps to be taken by an individual National Council member and the National Council, for completion of a National Council recommendation.

- April 2002 NDI in partnership with the National Assembly Parliamentary Standing Committee on Economics organized and conducted a workshop for MPs on the national budget. Parliamentary clerks organized the workshop at parliament, developing briefing materials for MPs, while NDI provided technical assistance with the agenda and assisted with inviting resource persons.
- April-September 2003 NDI provided support to committees in parliament. In particular, NDI assisted the National Assembly's Standing Committee on Economics, Natural Resources and Public Administration in its review of the proposed Affirmative Action Agricultural Loan Scheme (AALS), which was part of an amendment to legislation on the government-regulated Agricultural Bank. This topic brought some of the country's most pressing land issues to the forefront of public debate, as the AALS was one of Namibia's land reform strategies designed to address imbalances in land ownership. During the same time frame, NDI provided technical assistance to the National Assembly's Standing Committee on Economics by co-organizing a briefing session on Namibia's national budget.

NDI also consulted with the secretaries of both the National Assembly and the National Council on strategies to further strengthen and sustain support to parliamentary committees. These consultations resulted in a memo provided to both houses, that delineated a list of shared/available resources and services, and how they could be used including: the Constituency Channel, which has proved to be a valuable instrument for information dissemination and facilitating dialogue on legislative and policy matters; video conferencing facilities, which enable committees to interact with the regions where traveling may not be feasible or necessary; and the Information Management System (IMS), which has the capacity to disseminate information prior to public hearings, thereby enriching the public hearing process and facilitating more informed public participation.

• October 2003-March 2004 – NDI worked with the Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly, the Ministry of Finance, various civil society groups, selected commercial banks, the Reserve Bank of Namibia and local research institutions to analyze the additional budget tabled in parliament on October 31, 2003.

The one-day workshop brought together budget and economic experts with elected leaders and representatives of civil society to discuss the budget and analyze it as a tool of development. NDI and the local partners conducted a second workshop in March 2004, which aimed to strengthen the skills of parliamentary staff in sustaining the budget program the staff assumed more than 60 percent of the responsibility for the workshop, illustrating considerable capacity to sustain the program beyond NDI. The workshop prepared members of parliament for a debate on the additional budget, which provided a unique opportunity for various sectors to come together and discuss the budget as a development tool.

• Parliament Week – In 2004, NDI supported parliament in a special event aimed at optimizing awareness of the legislative functions and processes. In a weeklong campaign leading up to the opening of parliament, NDI organized a number of programs, including a radio and television program, interviews with members of parliament, scheduled tours of the parliament building and posting of regular updates on the parliament websites. These events culminated in the *Democracy and Development EXPO 2004*.

The campaign succeeded in bringing elected leaders together with the public to interact on public policy issues and served as a learning exercise for all participants. NDI secured the participation of national radio in all indigenous languages, as well as commercial and community radio stations. The participation of National Broadcast Company (NBC) television and the support of the Namibian Breweries reinforced NDI's partnership strategy to engage public and private groups in the process.

Parliament Week was also successful as a stock taking exercise during which individual MPs reflected on their personal accomplishments as representatives of the people as well as the successes and failures of parliament as an institution. The issues that emerged during the interviews and the various discussion forums assisted parliament, NDI and other partners to determine future priorities for constituency outreach initiatives.

• **Democracy and Development Expo 2004** -- As the program's culminating event, NDI and local partners, in particular parliament and the Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID), organized a democracy and development exhibition at the parliament gardens in Windhoek. The *Democracy and Development Expo 2004*, was part of NDI's and parliament's initiative to bring various stakeholders in the democracy sector together. The expo allowed civil society organizations and elected leaders to showcase their work and enhanced interaction between the various civil society partners and elected leaders, a fundamental element of sustainable democracy in Namibia.

The Expo attracted more than 38 different organizations representing various civil society sectors in the country. The Expo also attracted 12 government ministries that exhibited their work together with the civil society partners. The Expo was open to the public and over

3,000 visitors attended the two-day exhibition, including President Sam Nujoma, the prime minister, members of cabinet, members of parliament and representatives of the international community. The exhibition consisted of a one-stop library with an extensive collection of information about legal and social issues. Most of the exhibitors directly or indirectly complemented and added value to the parliamentary processes.

During the Expo, NDI worked with the NBC television to produce live interviews and phone in radio programs with members of parliament as hosts. More than 300 telephone calls were received from citizens on issues ranging from public policy issues to personal questions and concerns. The live radio and television broadcast represented a significant step toward strengthening interaction between elected leaders and the public.

In the words of a visitor from the Hardap Region: "the Expo reinforced the parliament's commitment toward making the institution more accessible to the public, this should be encouraged at all levels of government."

Further, the Expo served as a networking opportunity that enabled various organizations, particularly those lobbying for the improvement of the society, to mingle, share experiences and establish contacts with like minded institutions and elected representatives. Parliament has adopted the Expo as a practical and useful mechanism for future interaction with the public.

B. Focus Group Study

NDI contracted the University of Namibia (UNAM) to conduct focus group research in August and September 2001. Information from the focus group report was used to evaluate NDI's past work in Namibia as well to inform future programmatic activity. Results from the focus group research were consistent with the findings of regional audits conducted by NDI and parliament in July and August 2000 and the discussion and recommendations from an October 2000 National Council National Consultative Conference. One of the most prominent findings of the research was that "constituents feel disconnected from their representatives." The 2001 focus group studies illustrated a considerable level of public awareness in terms of political institutions, parliament and the citizen's right to participate in Namibia's democracy. The study also identified several problem areas:

- Citizen have limited access to MP's and legislative and policy information;
- Consultations by MPs are limited, yet (MPs) make decisions that directly effect constituents;
- Citizens have little knowledge about how to gain access to parliamentary structures (committees);
- National civil society organizations (CSOs) and advocacy groups lack representation on rural and grassroots issues;
- Traditional and local leaders are controlled by central government;
- There is widespread corruption, such as wastage of state funds on cars and luxury items; and
- There is a lack of adequate participation by women in government.

This study as well as regional audits served to frame NDI's constituency outreach activities.

C. Parliamentary Communication and Information Technology Resources and Constituency Outreach Program

Throughout the program, NDI conducted a number of communication and information technology projects ranging from establishing an Information Management System (IMS) inside parliament, launching a parliamentary website, and providing information technology (IT) training for members and staff, as well as civil society organizations. The constituency outreach program was a major initiative designed to bring legislative information to citizens outside the capital and solicit public input in the legislative process. Through the program, members of parliament toured the regions using a Mobile Training Unit, which citizens used to access legislative information while developing their own IT skills. The Institute's and parliament's innovative use of information technology in this program has served as a model for the southern African region for institutional capacity building within the legislature, parliamentary outreach to citizens and increased public access to information.

- May 2001 NDI assisted parliament to launch its first official website, *Parliament Online*. The site was designed to facilitate constituency communication by creating opportunities and mechanisms for increased citizen participation in the legislative process. The system integrates the world-wide-web, electronic mail, fax broadcasting, electronic courier, Short Message Service (SMS) cell phone messaging, instant communication, team work, chat, public forum and other technologies to enhance links between parliament and the public.
- October 2001 NDI and the Namibia Non-governmental Organizations Forum (NANGOF) organized an intensive one-week IT training workshop for 30 NGO representatives from nine governors' offices in Namibia. The training was conducted at parliament, using parliamentary facilities. NDI and parliament's IMS Committee conducted the training, which focused on: the role of Information Communication Technology (ICT) in conducting civic advocacy work; the role of ICT in establishing and enhancing governors' office networks inside and outside Namibia; the role of ICT in developing the capacity of CSOs; and the capacity of staff to design, implement and monitor programs.

The training served as a foundation for NDI's constituency outreach program activities. Participants returned to their regions to report on the varied avenues and structures that exist for public participation in the legislative process and assisted NDI in organizing regional workshops for NGOs.

• November 2001 – As part of ongoing efforts to strengthen the constituency outreach program, NDI, parliament and Information Technology Development (parliament's IT management contractor) launched the Mobile Training Unit (MTU) in November 2001. The MTU is a bus fitted with 11 Compaq computers, an uninterruptible power supply, a Compaq server, a standby generator, two screens-one for internal presentations and a large screen for outdoor presentations and beds for the driver and trainer. The MTU has served as an integral component of parliament's ongoing efforts to strengthen constituency outreach efforts through increased knowledge and access to IT training and services.

- **February-September 2002** The MTU travelled to all of the country's 13 regions, spending one week in each location. NDI provided civic education for citizens about issues such as citizen rights, the role of the elected officials and the role of citizens in parliamentary decisionmaking. Participants, including elected officials and civic groups, learned to navigate the internet gaining access to parliament's website and Information Management System.
- October 2002 Parliament's IMS Committee and NDI participated in a three-day retreat to assess training needs and develop ideas for future workshops.
- **February 2003** NDI and the IMS committee conducted a series of trainings and workshops intended to establish new mechanisms for ensuring that parliament's website was kept up-to-date and relevant. All 24 participants received an additional six hours of advanced training on management of the website.
- **June-July 2003** NDI conducted two one-week training sessions for IMS managers to equip the managers with the skills required to maintain the IMS and to train other members of parliament and staff. Afterward, the parliamentary staff, led by the IMS committees, conducted two workshops with limited technical assistance from NDI.
- April-September 2003 Over six months, NDI facilitated a multi-million dollar agreement between the parliament and Microsoft Corporation. Through the agreement, Microsoft facilitated the delivery of 4,150 computers to schools and communities throughout the country. NDI equipped each computer with a static version of the parliament's website and Parliamentary Knowledge Bank (PKB), an electronic depository of legislative and policy information, including the constitution and other important documents, in partnership with the IMS committee in parliament.
- August-September 2003 The Mobile Training Unit accompanied Speaker of the National Assembly Mosé Tjitendero on an annual outreach tour in all 13 regions of the country. The trip allowed him to consult with the Namibian citizens on democracy and development issues within a legislative and policy framework. The outreach program served as an oversight mechanism to improve government's ability to respond to the needs of constituents. Additionally, the outreach tour serves as a device for parliamentarians to familiarize themselves with the electorate's concerns and issues.

This MTU tour marked a significant decrease in NDI's involvement in the implementation of the constituency outreach program, with the parliamentary staff and the Constituency Channel team assuming primary responsibility for planning and executing future outreach. Throughout the process, NDI supported the partners through consultations, limited funding, and by providing logistical and technical assistance to the parliamentary staff and media. Significantly, parliament allocated human and financial resources to support the 2003 visits to the regions and future programs. The allocation of these resources demonstrated increased commitment by the partners to continue the constituency outreach initiative beyond NDI's presence in Namibia.

February 2004 – NDI conducted a constituency outreach workshop to engage communities, schools and local leaders in to identifying practical mechanisms to sustain the capacity and infrastructure made available by NDI, parliament, the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing and other private sector partners, including use of the computer equipment provided by parliament to various schools throughout the country as a tool for information dissemination.

Other stakeholders participating in the one-day workshop included representatives from: the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture; the Ministry of Higher Education, Training and Employment Creation; parliament (National Assembly and National Council); and the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing.

The workshop focused on a number of specific issues ranging from technical skills, training, internet costs, maintenance costs and a policy for public access to computers. Consensus was reached on allowing all community members to access and on training teachers to educate learners. Various other commitments were obtained during the workshop, which were subsequently incorporated into the constituency outreach program's sustainability plan.

• March 2004 – NDI conducted four workshops for IMS members on adult training techniques. The workshops also explored strategies to train elected leaders as well as effective ways to encourage a culture of using e-mail, the internet and the parliament's IMS.

During the workshops, IMS committee members recommended the establishment of a team that would specifically deal with the training for members and staff as well as assume responsibility for updating the parliament's web site on a daily basis. The new group was formed, and is known as the Information Management System Skills Enhancement Team (IMSSET).

• October 2003-March 2004 – NDI Namibia was invited to participate and exhibit its egovernance work and the constituency outreach program at the United Nations World Summit on Information Society in Geneva, Switzerland.

The summit attracted 30 heads of state from the major developed and developing nations as well as key national, regional and international stakeholders. NDI was allocated an exhibition stand and participated in one plenary session and three group discussions.

Participants in the group discussions and plenary, as well as visitors to the NDI Namibia exhibition, were keen to learn from the Namibian experience and the various pioneering projects that have been undertaken in Namibia.

D. Parliamentary Staff Development

As part of its capacity building support to parliament and to ensure sustainability of its efforts, NDI worked to develop the skills and abilities of parliamentary and committee staff through ongoing training activities and a study mission. As a result, parliamentary staff has undertaken the critical responsibility of organizing and conducting parliament's constituency

outreach activities and maintaining the information management system. The staff has also been instrumental in training MPs in both houses of parliament using the NDI-established Parliamentary Resource Center.

- **2001** In the first months of the program, NDI provided management and support training to parliamentary staff on use of the IMS. Through this training, a total of 89 staff members acquired skills in entering information into the IMS, sharing information and conferencing through the intranet, managing committee work and calendars and conducting research. NDI also produced *A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet* for use by parliamentary research teams and committee clerks. The guide was used to train 43 members of parliament and 76 staff members.
- August-September 2001 NDI organised a seven-week staff attachment program during for two committee clerks to Canada and the U.S. The two clerks, one from each house of parliament, spent three weeks each at the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and the Wisconsin State Legislature to gain a first-hand comparative understanding of the function of committees in long-established legislative bodies. They also attended two conferences while in the U.S., one for state legislatures and another for committee clerks. The purpose of the program was to enhance the skills of the clerks through exposure to the daily workings of strong committee systems. The clerks had the opportunity to observe and participate in a wide range of committee tasks.

During their programs at the two legislatures, the clerks focused on the following aspects of the committee system: role of a committee clerk; oversight committees; role of provincial auditor; standing rules and orders; broadcasting committee proceedings; role of the ombudsman; research and information services; report writing; staff and resource allocation; and internet training. The Namibians had an opportunity to discuss and compare their experiences with those of the clerks in the host institutions. They returned to Namibia at the end of September and conducted workshops for their fellow committee clerks to share the information that they gained.

• April-September 2004 – Four parliamentary staff received intensive NDI training from April to September 2004 in order to increase their capacity and research and writing skills. The staff worked closely with NDI throughout the final six months of the program in all aspects of its work with parliament, and assisted in organizing and conducting numerous outreach events. As a result of the attachment program, the staff developed practical experience in broad range of skills that will contribute to parliament's institutional sustainability. For example, attached staff members successfully designed and implemented a survey to determine the effectiveness of the constituency outreach program. This transfer of skills will serve the parliament in the short term and well into the future – allowing the Democracy Support Centre to develop priorities and goals at its inception.

E. Citizen Participation

NDI provided technical and financial assistance to a number of civil society groups throughout the program to encourage greater civic participation in the legislative process and assist NGOs to successfully advocate for citizen interests. Throughout the program, NGOs demonstrated growing interest in and capacity to influence legislation by engaging parliament in a number of ways, including participating in public meetings and organizing advocacy campaigns on priority issue areas including land reform, women's rights, ethics and the national budget process. NGOs are also institutionalizing their collaboration with parliament and other sectors of government and civil society as members of the newly developed Democracy Support Center, which will serve as the main sustainability mechanism for NDI's programs and will be managed by local partner the Namibia Institute for Democracy.

• **February 2001** – NDI provided technical and financial assistance for the Namibia Non-governmental Organizations Forum (NANGOF) to organise a land advocacy discussion forum. NANGOF and the National Land Committee of South Africa, as members of the 48-member organisation, Southern Africa Regional Network on Land (SANL), serve as the steering committee to coordinate and spearhead networking and information dissemination at the regional level.

The objectives of the forum were to review and assess the past 10 years of NANGOF's advocacy engagement in the land reform issue. Several important recommendations emerged from the discussions, including the need to: identify and develop a future vision; devise a multi-sectoral approach to assist the legislature to address hastily drafted conflicting or incoherent policies; develop frameworks to operationalize its work; continue to facilitate communication between the different interest groups; strengthen advocacy campaigns and lobbying strategies with parliament and government agencies on the issue; and clearly define the way forward for future work of the NANGOF land reform sector through improved monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

• April-October 2001 – NDI provided financial assistance to NANGOF to organise workshops for civil society organisations on national budget processes and the Second National Development Plan II (NDP II). The objectives of this project evolved from creating awareness to developing strategies and an advocacy agenda through which Namibian NGOs' and CSOs' can utilise the national budget and NDP II to identify priorities, monitor the public budgeting and planning processes, and make timely interventions. A goal of the budget project was to facilitate a process through which the above-mentioned organisations can critically monitor the implementation of the NDP II to influence resource allocation and effective service delivery.

Between the months of August and October 2001, NANGOF held eight workshops in the regions and a national two-day workshop in Windhoek. Each was attended by an average of 25 participants, including governors, regional councillors, local authority councillors, staff from government ministries and community based organisations.

The workshop resulted in the formation of regional budget committees/networks, which will assume most of responsibilities NANGOF's work on the budget project in the regions.

- April-September 2001 NDI held three roundtables for USAID-funded NGO representatives to discuss avenues to increase citizen participation by utilizing the newly established Information Management System at parliament. A total of 39 representatives from local and international organizations attended the forums and agreed to give their full support to parliament's IMS initiative. The roundtables helped raise the level of constituency outreach through the use of the IMS to increase communication, exchange of information and access to parliament.
- April-September 2003 NDI strengthened its partnership with the Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID) in order to integrate the complementary programs of both organizations.
 NDI participated in various NID forums to facilitate linkages between NID's advocacy efforts through its Civil Society Development Program and the NDI-championed constituency outreach program. NID participated in the development of NDI's workplan.

NDI also began working with NID on a civil society advocacy and resource mobilization campaign, creating linkages with NDI's constituency outreach programming. As a result of increased collaboration among the two organizations, the beginnings of efforts to establish a Democracy Support Center were initiated. The Democracy Support Center was conceived to become the hub of democracy support to parliament, the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH) and civil society in general. NDI secured commitments from parliament and MRLGH to support this initiative, and the Legal Assistance Center and the University of Namibia were included as future members of the Democracy Support Center. Developing the Democracy Support Center became the cornerstone of NDI's sustainability efforts, in anticipation of the Institute's departure from Namibia.

- November 2003 NDI and NID organized a joint workshop, "Advocating for Enhanced Rural Development for Sustainable Development" to identify mechanisms to address social and economic problems facing community-based organizations (CBOs), particularly those operating in rural areas. At the workshop, CBO field workers met with representatives from the private sector, parastatals and the donor community to identity best approaches, practices and design models for future collaborative efforts. As a result, grassroots CBOs that had little prior exposure to or meaningful collaboration with the donor community were able to form new strategic partnerships with both donor partners and the private sector. Given an environment of dwindling donor resources, the workshop also assisted CBOs to strengthen internal capacity and mobilize domestic resources to reduce dependency on external support.
- **November 2003-September 2004** NDI and the Legal Assistance Center (LAC) conducted a one-day workshop for participants from the various sectors of the NGO community as well as representatives of international organizations and various media institutions to solicit critical input on a draft advocacy manual. In creating the manual, NDI and LAC consulted with various stakeholders including elected leaders on the opportunities and effective strategies for collaboration, engagement, participation and dialogue on public policy issues.

The advocacy manual was finalized and launched in September 2004, with partial financial support from NDI. The first such indigenous resource, the manual builds on practical Namibian lessons and realities, provides contact information for key public policy institutions and offers a step-by-step guide on conducting effective advocacy campaigns.

• October 2003-September 2004 – In the last year of NDI's program in Namibia, considerable progress was made in formalizing the Democracy Support Center. NDI and its partners successfully established general consensus that the Democracy Support Center (DSC) will be the framework through which the Institute's programs and achievements will be sustained into the future. Numerous workshops, roundtables and consultative meetings transpired over the final year of program activities. Participants included the National Assembly, the National Council, the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing, the Legal Assistance Center, the Namibian Institute for Democracy, the University of Namibia, NAMWA and NCRN.

The governance structure of the DSC was developed by an independent consultant and reviewed and critiqued by all proposed members. Further, consensus was reached on the major principles guiding the institutionalization of the DSC and progress made in securing pledges from each of the partners, including financial resources, office space, and provision of personnel and expertise.

In September 2004, USAID provided a follow-on cooperative agreement to NID to support and manage the DSC. It is anticipated that the DSC will be formalized and officially launched before the end of 2004.

F. Media

Throughout the program, NDI assisted parliament, CSOs other media organizations to facilitate citizen participation in the legislative process through use of the media. NDI's support helped raise public awareness about national polices and legislative efforts that affect all members of Namibian society. Among the program's main achievements was the creation of the first parliament-based radio and TV production studio, the Constituency Channel (CC), which has begun live broadcasting of legislative and committee proceedings.

- October 2001-March 2002 In response to a request from CSO representatives and members of parliament, NDI and its partner, BRICKS Community Project, produced the booklet *The Parliamentary Reporters Reference Manual*, which explains the role of journalists in parliamentary reporting. Speaker of the National Assembly Hon. Dr. Tjitendero officiated at the book launch at which 25 representatives from the media were present. The booklet was distributed to NBC, CSOs, local newspapers, parliament and political parties. The manual has been used during media training workshops and as a practical guide for media representatives.
- **June 2001** NDI and the Namibian Media Women's Association (NAMWA) held a media discussion forum to discuss the sustainability of the Parliamentary Reporter's Training Project for Namibian Journalists, which was initially conducted by NDI and its former

partner, BRICKS Community Project. The training brought together 25 editors, managers and senior journalist from MISA Regional, NBC radio and NAMPA. Participants discussed measures that should be taken to facilitate continuation and sustainability of parliamentary monitoring and reporting. In an effort to ensure sustainability of such media training programs, NDI agreed to explore how to institutionalise media training with the University of Namibia (UNAM), MISA Namibia and NAMWA.

- **November 2001** NDI facilitated a meeting between NAMWA and the Parliamentary Women's Caucus attended by 15 MPs, three NAMWA members and NDI's country director and program officer. Participants discussed how to form linkages between the two groups to enhance the skills of women parliamentarians.
- April-September 2002 NDI provided technical and financial assistance to the National Broadcast Company and NAMWA to develop a monthly TV and radio show focused on gender issues. The program, *Gender in Perspective*, raised public awareness about national polices and legislative efforts that affect women, men and children and the work of CSOs, including NAMWA, in this area. The documentary has been shown in countries such as India and South Africa.
- April-September 2003 NDI facilitated the establishment of the first parliament-based radio and TV production studio, housed in the quarters of the National Council, with the television facility located in the National Assembly. Known as the Constituency Channel (CC), the studio aims to expand the linkages between parliamentarians and the Namibian citizenry through television and radio coverage.

CC productions are innovative, creative and use an eye-catching informative format designed to capture the viewer's attention and arouse interest on public participation and the role of the public in influencing the decision making process. In one CC production, interviewees were asked about their understanding of democracy views on public participation in Namibia. One respondent to the interview stated, "There are structures and institutions that are in place to observe what is happening in our democracy." Another respondent said, "Sometimes we think that democracy means we have freedom to do things the way we want to do it, but democracy also comes with responsibility."

Sponsored by NDI, the CC enjoys the full support of parliament and the MRLGH. Hon. Nico Kaiyamo, member of parliament serving as councilor for the Tsumeb constituency commented, "The Constituency Channel is a good initiative. Increased efforts to provide access and enhance public participation will stimulate increased demand and expectations. While all the demands may never be satisfied, elected leaders have the obligation and should be kept on their toes to respond and to account to the electorate."

• **April-September 2003** – NDI continued to work with NAMWA to support the development of the media as a tool to communicate with the electorate about policies affecting them through coverage of contemporary issues. In partnership with NAMWA, NDI held a strategic planning session in May to review the association's objectives and plan of action. The Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) also attended the meeting in a demonstration of support

for the NAMWA program.

NDI also supported NAMWA's capacity building efforts by helping students at Namibia's Polytechnic University gain skills in information management and media production. This effort promoted sustainability and has allowed NAMWA assist students to gain practical experience. Through the skills enhancement program, NAMWA was able to increase its membership base by more than 10 percent since May 2003.

- April-September 2003 Through the CC initiative, Namibian Community Radio Network (NCRN) has been instrumental in covering activities in parliament and other events that highlight the importance of public participation. NCRN has also been instrumental in conducting research and developing tools for media access in rural areas through radio broadcasting.
- 2003 NDI local partners NCRN and NAMWA initiated an innovative tool to disburse information through the media the Bicycle Project. The bicycle is a solution to take both radio and television to communities that may not have electricity or access to a radio or TV signal. Using a solar powered television, radio and recorder, the bicycle is taken through communities, broadcasting legislative and policy related information. Building on NAMWA and NCRN efforts to increase awareness in rural communities, the bicycle employs a built-in recording device that records community views and sends them to parliament for feedback.
- **January 2004** NDI conducted radio production training for the Constituency Channel team, composed of staff from NAMWA, NCRN, the National Council and the National Assembly. The training workshop was identified as a key mechanism to ensure inclusion of all stakeholders in the production of the Constituency Channel. As a result of the workshop, participants have enhanced the skills needed to fully assume responsibility for managing the constituency outreach program.

The training workshop focused on a number of areas, including planning, researching, scheduling and conducting interviews, writing a script, producing a radio and television program, broadcasting, disseminating information, obtaining feedback from the public, and incorporating feedback into the compilation of programs.

The workshop also focused on political programs and the role of the media in a democracy. Using the NDI reporter's handbook, participants reviewed the media's role in democracy and how to report on political issues. The workshop reinforced the media team and collaboration between the media personnel of Parliament and the Constituency Channel.

• March 2004 – The Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing provided funding to develop radio and television programs on decentralization awareness. The funds were made available as a contribution toward the implementation of the NDI sustainability plan. Working with the Constituency Channel, NDI completed the initial research for the project and conducted preliminary interviews with the key stakeholders in the project.

Those interviewed included the Prime Minister Hon. Theo-Ben Guirirab, Minister of Regional and Local Government and Housing Hon. Joel Kapaanda, Deputy Minister Hon. Professor Totemeyer, the permanent secretary in the ministry, the director general of the National Planning Commission, the director of Decentralization Coordination and various individuals in government and civil society.

The radio and television programs educated the public on the objectives of the decentralization process and the role of government institutions in the implementation of the various decentralization policies. The programs focused on providing grassroots communities with information on how to utilize the various opportunities available through the decentralization process to influence decisionmaking processes.

• October 2003-March 2004 – NDI established TV and radio production studios within parliament. As part of the sustainability implementation plan, NDI secured a total of eight offices for its media partners (Constituency Channel, the Namibia Media Women's Association, the Namibia Community Radio Network and the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation) within the premises of parliament.

Four of the eight offices were renovated into recording studios – one each in the National Council and the National Assembly Chambers and two in the newly renovated auditorium and production studio. The auditorium accommodates up to 50 participants and will be used by the Constituency Channel and other media institutions to discuss public policy issues, in particular bills under consideration by parliament.

The studio has been equipped and can broadcast parliamentary proceedings live through radio and television. NDI also succeeded in mobilizing resources from the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing, the Namibia Community Radio Network and the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia to purchase equipment for the studio and to pay for the renovations. As of March 2004, a total of eight television documentaries were produced and screened on NBC television. In addition, a total of 76 radio programs were completed, distributed and broadcast by the NBC and six community radio stations.

G. Women's Political Participation

NDI's program also supported the efforts of women's groups to increase the political participation of women and promote greater gender equity in Namibia.

• **June 2001** – The Namibia Women Manifesto Network (NWMN), a network of organizations that advocate for gender issues, held its first National Consultative Workshop of the year. NDI provided technical and financial support for the group's advocacy campaigns, which call for fair representation of women in parliament and other political structures in government. The purpose of the national consultative workshop was to discuss methods to continue the implementation of the Women's Manifesto agenda developed two years ago.

The highlight of the workshop was a visit to parliament arranged by NDI. A staff member from the parliament gave workshop participants a comprehensive guided tour and the NDI

director presented on the importance of the role of advocacy groups vis-à-vis Parliament. Hon. Amukugo explained the duties in her role as a MP with special emphasis on constituency networking and outreach. Mr. Jacobs spoke on the roles of the different committees and provided the group with materials about how to contact and share information with the committee members. For many of the women, it was their first visit to parliament.

The following month, NWMN conducted a total of 44 regional workshops for its members in villages and town throughout the country. The regional workshops helped increase awareness about the importance of women's participation in politics and introduced proposed amendments to the Electoral Acts to ensure that 50 percent of all elected officials are women. Afterward, NWMN drafted a national position paper on recommendations that came out of all the workshops. The NWMN presented the paper to officials in government and parliament.

• October 2001 – The NWMN held its second national consultative workshop in October 2001. During the workshop the 50/50 Bill, the 50/50 Bill on Amendments to the Electoral Act and the 50/50 pamphlet on equal representation in parliament and other structures were launched. Approximately 70 women from all 13 regions attended the three-day event, which included a trip to the National Assembly to observe debates on current bills. Representatives from USAID, UNDP, the Dutch Embassy and NDI attended the launch. Deputy Minister of Women's Affairs and Child Welfare Marlene Mungunda spoke at the launch, and stressed that the ministry had consistently supported organizations that advocate for minority groups, including women and the importance of women's participation in advocacy efforts.

As part of the 50/50 campaign, NWMN collected signatures to demonstrate the large support for gender balance in all levels of government, particularly in elected positions. NWMN representatives met with the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Petitions and presented the chairperson with a copy of the 50/50 pamphlet, the 50/50 draft bill and other materials. Diane Hubbard of the Legal Assistance Center provided technical assistance to the NWMN to draft the 50/50 bill.

H. Political Party Development

In the final year of its program, NDI received supplemental funding from USAID/Namibia to help strengthen the capacity of political parties and prepare them for upcoming regional and local elections. As the idea of capacity building for political parties was new for Namibia, NDI took a cautious approach when introducing the idea to the parties. As a first step, NDI held extensive consultations with the leadership of all political parties about the benefits of capacity building training for political party members. NDI's relationships with political leaders in parliament facilitated broad participation in the program. Consultations were followed by an all-party conference in March 2004 for senior party leaders to discuss the importance of political party capacity building. Based on those activities, NDI designed and conducted individual party training workshops for national and regional organizers.

• March 2004 – NDI conducted high-level consultations with leaders of all registered political parties in Namibia. The consultations sought to solicit the views of the political leadership on the constituency outreach program and the political party development program, as requested by the Electoral Commission of Namibia. The consultations provided an opportunity to identify the needs of individual political parties and their priority areas.

Following the individual consultations, NDI organized a roundtable discussion with the Political Party Liaison Committee (PPLC) within the Electoral Commission of Namibia to solicit input into the political party program strategy and to identify the committee's priority areas.

The consultations and roundtable proved fruitful and supported the political party development program strategy and implementation plan. As a result, NDI began working with all political parties to assist them in designing proposals and fundraising strategies that will help them realize their individual objectives.

• March 2004 – NDI organized a one-day conference to discuss the importance of developing strong political parties in a democracy. The conference was open to the senior leadership of all political parties registered with the Election Commission of Namibia (ECN); however, only eight delegations out of eleven were present at the time of the conference: Congress of Democrats (COD); Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA); Monitor Action Group (MAG); National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO); Republican Party (RP); South West African People's Organization (SWAPO); South West African National Union (SWANU); and the United Democratic Front (UDF). The only registered parties that did not send delegations were Democratic Convention of Namibia (DCN), Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN) and Workers Revolution Party (WRP). The conference was also open to representatives of civil society and the media as observers. Representatives of the Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID), journalists from Allgemeine Zeitung, The Namibian, New Era, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and the Namibian Press Agency (NAMPA) were all present at the conference.

During the conference, important lessons were shared from regional political party leaders in Ghana and Mozambique on party building. Former Secretary General of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) Hon. Manuel Tomé spoke about how his party was making the difficult transition from a liberation movement to a political party, which demonstrated that a ruling and former liberation party can effectively participate in multiparty democracy. Secretary General of the new ruling party in Ghana, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Dan Botwe discussed how his party had successfully made the transformation from opposition to ruling party. The lessons from Ghana were particularly salient for opposition parties as they provided a positive story of an opposition party struggling successfully to become the new ruling party.

Participants formed a consensus that there is insufficient support for political party capacity building in Namibia and that a program to enhance the capacity of political parties would benefit both opposition and ruling parties. While considerable attention has been given to government institutions and civil society, little effort has been made to assist political parties

to enhance their organizational capacity.

• June 2004 – NDI conducted six party-specific training workshops during the month of June to: raise awareness of the importance of developing strong political parties; enhance the skills of party activists to become more effective party members; and strengthen the capacity of parties to compete in upcoming elections. Senior Program Manger Richard Klein and Country Representative Foster Mijiga facilitated the sessions as follows: SWAPO on June 5-6; DTA on June 8-9; UDF on June 12-13; NUDO on June 15-16; SWANU, RP, Namibia DMC and MAG on June19-20; and CoD on June 23-24.

During each of the two-day workshops, the participants discussed: the characteristics of an effective political party; party message development; getting out a party's message; party internal communications; strategic planning; resource mobilization; and building confidence in the election process. The workshops maximized participation through both large and small group discussions. Participants used an NDI-created training manual as a resource. As part of the workshops, an excerpt from the video "Big Mouths, Open Minds" was screened to demonstrate the views of ordinary Namibians about the state of their country. The NDI training helped the political parties strengthen their organizational capacity and prepare for upcoming regional and local elections. They also helped to foster continued development of strong political parties that are able to represent the interests of their membership – a critical element in democratic development.

H. Reports and Publications

NDI developed, revised or expanded a number of reports and publications throughout the program period. These publications continue to be in demand and, according to users, extremely useful as they navigate the legislative system. Many of these documents will prove to be useful well into the future – providing information for the public as well as for members of parliament and their staff.

- Legislative Research on the Internet: This document was launched simultaneously with the *Parliament Online* website in 2000-2001. It was developed following extensive IMS training of parliamentarians and their staff on utilizing, managing and maintaining parliament's information systems. (*Annex A Available in hard copy from NDI headquarters.*)
- Governance and Public Participation Focus Group Report: NDI developed this report in 2001, following the culmination of its focus group research. (Annex B Available on NDI's website, Access Democracy.)
- Sustainability Assessment for Consolidation of Democracy Programs in Namibia: NDI developed this report in 2001 in collaboration with parliament. Focusing on institutions and processes within parliament, the assessment helped parliament and NDI develop the sustainability plan implemented through this program. (Annex C Available on NDI's website, Access Democracy.)

- *Public Participation in the Legislation Process*: This report provides a summary of results from a nationwide regional survey and a national conference conducted by the National Council and National Democratic Institute in 2000. (*Annex D Available on NDI's website, Access Democracy.*)
- Parliamentary Committee Quick Reference Guide (formerly entitled Guide for Committee Chairpersons): Originally produced under past programs, this publication was revised and expanded following the attachment program to the US and Canada for committee clerks in 2001. The guide now provides material on the media and tips on report writing and the use of information technology in governance. (Annex E Available in hard copy from NDI Headquarters.)
- Constituency Handbook for Elected Representatives (Constituency Outreach Manual): This manual was designed to assist the National Council in organizing and conducting constituency outreach. Created in 2001-2002, it is a practical guide to strengthening collaboration between elected representatives and the electorate and contains information about how to mobilize resources and support for development initiatives, identify issues of citizen concern, provide a forum for constituents to express their views and develop a framework for building consensus. (Annex F Available on NDI's website, Access Democracy.)
- 2002-2003 Budget: Budget Guide for Elected Officials: Two guidebooks, Budget Guide for Elected Officials and Understanding the National Budget, were originally created under NDI's previous USAID-supported program. The Budget Guide was updated in 2002 to provide an analysis of the country's 2002-2003 national budget. Both continue to be in high demand nationally as well as internationally, and are currently being used by the Ministry of Regional Local Government and Housing as training materials for regional financial officers. (Annex G Available in hard copy from NDI Headquarters.)
- *Political Party Capacity Building Manual:* NDI developed this manual for use in its training workshops with political parties in 2004. The manual draws on other political party training guides and resources developed by NDI in its programs worldwide. (*Annex H Available on NDI's website, Access Democracy.*)

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Throughout the program, NDI has witnessed significant progress in Namibia with respect to democratic consolidation. As democratic systems and processes became institutionalized, NDI sought to continuously adjust and evolve its programs in response. Many of NDI's accomplishments can be categorized into five areas of development based on the original goals and objectives of the program as well as the added objective from the political party program.

Increased Accountability of Parliament to Namibian Citizens

Throughout the program, parliament continued to institutionalize processes that strengthened its transparency and accountability to Namibian citizens. This began with initiating public hearings on the national budget. Since then, parliament increased the number of public hearings conducted on various pieces of legislation each year, a strong indication of its commitment to citizen participation and understanding of its responsibility for accountability to the public.

Parliament demonstrated a strong commitment to increasing accountability through its participation in NDI's constituency outreach programs. For example, members of parliament actively participated in the Mobile Training Unit tours, which twice visited each region of the country. These tours provided an opportunity for elected officials, national and local, to have direct interaction with their constituencies, and opened doors for Namibian citizens to learn how to access information about the legislative processes.

Parliament's enthusiastic commitment to institutionalizing the Information Management System (IMS) – a system that provides easy access for the public to legislative news and information – demonstrates another mechanism by which parliament sought to increase and institutionalize accountability to the public.

Increased Capacity of Parliamentary Staff

Throughout the program, NDI worked closely with parliamentary staff at all levels. NDI successfully trained staff on the management and maintenance of the Information Management System. As a result, parliamentary staff gained the capacity to train others in the use of the system.

The NDI-sponsored study tours to the U.S. and Canada allowed parliamentary staff to learn first-hand about committee processes. Their experience served to create "in-house" knowledge of options for strengthening the parliamentary committee and public hearing processes.

Intensive NDI training during the last six months of programming for four parliamentary staff built their capacity to sustain NDI parliamentary programs and serve as ongoing resources to the legislature. The staff learned the mechanics of how NDI organized and conducted much of its programming by helping to organize and carry out activities. These four staff members were also able to increase their credibility, with various levels of the parliamentary leadership and with organizations outside of parliament, including NGOs working in this sector.

Increased Capacity of the Media to Link Parliament and the Public

NDI sought many creative avenues for increasing access for media in the public debate. This was accomplished on several fronts. For example:

NDI provided technical and financial assistance to the National Broadcast Company and NAMWA to develop a monthly TV and radio show that focuses on gender issues. The Program "Gender in Perspective" raised public awareness about national polices and legislative efforts that affect women, men and children and the work of CSOs including NAMWA in this area.

NDI facilitated the establishment of the first parliament-based Radio and TV production studio, housed in the quarters of the National Council with the television facility located in the National Assembly, known as the Constituency Channel. The CC expanded the linkages between parliamentarians and the Namibian citizenry through television and radio coverage of parliamentary proceedings.

Increased Sustainability and Ownership of Capacity Building Programs

As an overarching goal, sustainability was a thread that ran through all aspects of NDI's programming. Whether it was training staff on the IMS, training committees or developing of the Democracy Support Center all of NDI's efforts were driven by the underlying objective of achieving sustainability.

One demonstration of NDI's success in this area is the fact that in one of the series of IMS trainings, the parliamentary staff, led by the IMS committees, conducted two of the eight workshops with limited technical assistance from NDI.

The culmination of NDI's sustainability strategy was the development of the Democracy Support Center. With follow-on support from USAID, the center will function in a similar capacity as NDI, with the collective support and contribution of all the domestic institutions with which NDI built relationships. The DSC will continue to support media operations, provide parliamentary support and training and create linkages between parliament, the public and NGOs.

Increase the Management and Organizational Capacity of Political Parties in Namibia

NDI consultations helped political parties identify individual training needs and priority support areas. Training workshops helped the political parties prepare for upcoming regional and local elections by learning resource mobilization skills, message development techniques, outreach strategies, and strategic planning. The responses to the workshops were overwhelmingly positive from all political parties. Throughout the workshops, participants were engaged and worked hard. Many of the workshops continued on past the expected end time as participants wanted to remain and continue the discussions of various issues that were raised. For example, SWAPO party participants, while initially cautious about the initiative, were by the end of their workshop fully committed to the training.

Across the board, participants strongly urged NDI to continue to conduct training for political parties and requested that the training be expanded to all levels of the parties down to the grassroots. Many political parties indicated that the ideas presented and skills learned were new, and all agreed to work toward implementing the lessons learned.

Monitoring and Evaluation Statistical Data for USAID SOs and IRs

NDI provided annual monitoring and evaluation (M&E) statistical reports to USAID throughout the program period, which discussed program progress toward achievement of mission strategic objectives (SO) and intermediate results (IR).

Over the course of the program, some outcome indicators were dropped or added in close consultation with USAID. Following is a summary analysis of progress achieved related to program targets for outcome indicators utilized throughout the program period.

Strategic Objective 4.0: Increased Accountability of Legislators to all Namibian Citizens:

SO Level Indicator: 1. Citizen Input into Review of Legislation

NDI met or exceeded the target goals established by USAID each year of the program. As a result, public input was regularly solicited and, on occasion, resulted in amendments/ rejections to legislation. Over the course of the program, parliament adopted creative methods for reaching out to the public, including using the media to broadcast parliamentary proceedings, holding public hearings throughout the country and creating access to legislative affairs through the Information Management System.

SO Level Indicator: 2. Citizen Input into Formulation of Legislation

NDI met or exceeded the target goals established by USAID each year of the program. Over the course of the agreement, parliament greatly strengthened its constituency outreach efforts with the goal of soliciting input from the public. This was demonstrated through public hearings by the National Council in all 13 regions of the country on several occasions, use of the Mobile Training Unit as a mechanism to solicit public input and the use of the media as a means to disseminate information regarding legislation of public interest.

SO Level Indicator: 3. Responsive and Deliberative Budget

NDI met USAID target goals during the first two years of the program, by working diligently with committees in both houses of parliament to strengthen the budget process. This included conducting training with MPs on the budget process and increasing accountability through the budget deliberations. Initially, there was a significant lack of knowledge on the part of parliamentarians about their role in the budget process; however, the end result saw significant improvement in both houses exercising their role in the process – including the use of public input.

The apparent "slow start" of achieving this objective can, in part, be attributed to the nature of Namibia's parliamentary system. In such a system, the budgets are introduced by the Executive Branch and historically, in most "underdeveloped" legislative systems, an active role by the parliament has been strongly discouraged. NDI worked with parliament to reinforce its "check and balance" role *vis-à-vis* the executive; in time, the parliament began to exercise its role

and responsibilities in the budget process as well as with other legislative initiatives.

SO Level Indicator: 4. Responsive and Deliberative Committee Review

NDI met USAID target goals in each of the four years of the program. An examination of the committee hearing process saw an increased use of the committee process over the life of NDI's work. NDI spent considerable energy, particularly in the early stages of the program, to strengthen the procedural framework of parliament's committees through committee clerk training and working with parliament on strengthening the committee rules and procedures.

Each year of the program saw an increase in the use of committee hearings – not only as a means to review proposed legislation but also to solicit public input into the process. There was a marked increase in the number of public hearings as well as the volume of public comments received during the Committee process. Clearly, parliamentary committees have come to view the role as one of significance in reviewing legislation, but also the entry point for the public to access and influence legislation at the national level.

SO Level Indicator: 5. Influence of Backbenchers

NDI achieved USAID targets in three of four years of the program. The influence of backbenchers grew throughout the course of the program period. Opposition MPs began to regularly propose amendments to critical legislation resulting in more thorough debate and negotiation in the committee process. Opposition party whips frequently scheduled meetings with the Speaker and chairman to review floor activity and committee calendars.

A culture of consultation has developed, particularly with respect to critical pieces of legislation, such as the Children's Status Bill, the Defense Bill and the Anti-Corruption Bill. Opposition MPs often proposed amendments to these important bills and/or through consultation were able to compel legislation to be re-referred to Committee for further review.

Intermediate Result 4.1 Increased Opportunity for Citizen Participation in the Legislative Process:

Indicator 4.1.2: Number of Issues on which Hearings, Including Public Hearings, are Held

NDI met or exceeded the target numbers for this indicator in two of the four years of the program. During the 2002 reporting cycle, the target number of hearings was 40 and parliament held 66, far exceeding the goal. However, in two years of the grant, the target was not reached. In 2003, the target was 50 and the actual number of meetings was 24; and in 2004, the target was 40 and the actual was 20. The primary factor that may have contributed to the shortfall in reaching the target goals was a climate of "inaction" in parliament due to upcoming elections in November 2004. Most MPs and the parliament as a whole were slow to consider controversial legislation and focused most of their efforts on the elections, rather than legislative business. This was evidenced not only in the number of public hearings but also the volume of legislation that was left pending and the low number of new legislation that was introduced.

Intermediate result 4.3: Increased Public Advocacy of NGOs and Civic Groups:

Indicator 4.3.1 Percentage of Bills of Public Interest that Receive Public Comment

NDI exceeded the goal in one year of the program period. In other years, the actual percentage fell short of the target. While NDI can point to considerable efforts on the Institute's part to create linkages between parliament and the public via its work with NGOs and civic groups, the effort did not create constant public engagement on all legislation. Namibian NGOs are clearly built around "issue-specific" agendas, creating a vacuum of interest in legislation that doesn't directly impact their issues.

Indicator 4.3.2 Number of Campaigns by NGOs and Interest Groups to Influence Pending Policy or Legislation

NDI exceeded its target goals in all but the final year of the grant. The growing interest of NGOs to influence legislation was quite visible throughout the course of NDI's work in Namibia. While the number of advocacy campaigns grew throughout the program, there was a marked decrease in such activity during the final year. A couple of factors may have influenced this outcome. One factor could be directly linked to the low level of legislative activity during the final year as discussed above. Secondly, Namibian civil society is likely reaching a leveling off period in terms of its growth.

V. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Since September 2000, NDI's programs in Namibia have addressed many different facets of democratic development. In order to strengthen the consolidation of democracy in Namibia, the NDI program focused on a variety of institution-building and skills-building programs for both legislators and civil society to support a strong and sustainable democratic system.

Program activities included increasing citizen participation through enhancing public access to parliamentary information and proceedings, initiating a constituency outreach effort, and working with local NGOs to increase their participatory skills in the parliamentary process. The Institute's innovative use of information technology as a tool to increase citizen participation in the legislative process has served as a model program throughout the Southern African region. As a result of NDI's constituency outreach program, members of parliament, including the Speaker of the National Assembly now regularly conduct regional outreach tours outside the capital and many committees in the National Council conduct public hearings in regions throughout the country. While the successes have been noteworthy in this area, an information divide continues to exist between Namibians that reside in and around the capital and those in the more rural or remote areas of the country. This gap is primarily economic, making it more difficult for the parliament to be consistently inclusive of these populations through their efforts *vis-à-vis* information technology. While use of information technology is critical, parliament should devise alternative mechanisms to include citizens that don't have access or the skills to effectively use information and communication technology.

A major objective of NDI's work in Namibia was to strengthen the internal workings of parliament through ongoing consultations on the budget process, training parliamentary clerks on committee processes and conducting public hearings on legislation. Throughout the program there was a steady increase in the number of public hearings conducted and the number of bills that actually enjoyed public debate – demonstrating an increase in the independence of the legislative branch of government *vis-à-vis* the executive branch. The sustainability of NDI's work was evident in the committee process, as the committee clerks began to conduct their own committee trainings. This aspect of NDI's activities was quite successful, but continues to need additional strengthening – particularly because parliamentary staff turnover continues to be high. In addition, due to the recent elections, new members of parliament will need orientation and training on the legislative process. This will demand ongoing consultation until the parliament has a system and staff in place to provide such training.

One aspect of NDI's work should be continued in the future. NDI conducted a short-term political party strengthening program during the final year of programming. NDI worked with all political parties to strengthen their internal processes and capacity to compete effectively in the electoral process. While it could be said that Namibia has enjoyed a strong democratic showing over the last decade, political party power continues to be one-sided. To truly strengthen democratic institutions, it is critical that political parties have an opportunity to compete in elections and represent the various concerns of the population as a whole, not just those that enjoy political power in the country. There currently exists little political space for political parties other than the ruling party to operate. Namibia's democracy could benefit from a long-term effort to continue working with political parties to strengthen all aspects of political party operations, including membership recruitment, fundraising, media and all components of campaigning. This is probably the most critical aspect of any ongoing work in Namibia to further strengthen the viability of democratic institutions and the participation of all segments of society in the process.

VI. LIST OF ATTACHMENTS

- 1. Annex A: A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet, NDI 2000
- 2. Annex B: Governance and Public Participation Focus Group Report, NDI 2001
- 3. Annex C: Sustainability Assessment for Consolidation of Democracy Programs in Namibia, NDI 2001
- 4. Annex D: Public Participation in the Legislation Process, NDI 2001
- 5. Annex E: Parliamentary Committee Quick Reference Guide, revised 2001-2002
- 6. Annex F: Constituency Handbook for Elected Representatives, NDI 2002
- 7. Annex G: 2002-2003 Budget: Budget Guide for Elected Officials, 2002
- 8. Annex H: Political Party Capacity Building Manual, NDI 2004

GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

A Summary of Focus Group Survey Findings

Mr. Vezera Bob Kandetu Dr. Becky R.K. Ndjoze-Ojo Mr. Foster Mijiga Mr. Pero Nampila

NDI Namibia

August - September 2001

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	5
Purpose and Scope of the Focus Group Surveys	5
Methodology	7
Major Findings	11
Mood and Overall Conditions of Communities	12
Access to Elected Representatives	16
Access to Legislative Institutions and the Decision Making Process	20
The Role of Civic Organizations and Non Governmental Organizations	22
Word Association	23
Concluding Observations	26
Recommendations	29
Appendices	30

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is a product of teamwork that involved vital inputs from various people of honour and integrity.

We wish to sincerely acknowledge this spirit of teamwork by thanking the following people without whose contributions this report would have remained an unrealized dream. We thank Dr. Achieng Akumu the Director of NDI and all NDI staff who initiated and facilitated the process as well as USAID for their financial support.

Furthermore, the Governors of the five regions surveyed deserve appreciation. These are

Honourable P. Thataone, Governor, Omaheke

Honourable S. Goliath, Governor, Karas

Honourable B. Mwaningange, Governor, Ohangwena

Honourable S. Nuuyoma, Governor, Erongo

Honourable J. Pandeni, Governor, Khomas

The assistance and support we received from Honourable Tuhadeleni, Councilor of Endola Constituency in Ohangwena region and Member of Parliament is equally appreciated.

Mr. Ben //Naobeb and Ms. Joster assisted the team with trial focus groups in Okahandja and Rehoboth respectively. The trial focus groups served as the appropriate stage setters for the actual focus group surveys.

Our recruiters in the regions did a great job and we are very grateful. These are:

Ms. Yvonne Boois, Khomas Region

Ms. Hilka Udjombala, Ohangwena Region

Ms. Tina Karamata, Erongo Region

Mr. Fessy Hengari, Omaheke Region

Mr. Owen Shamena, Karas Region

For those who willingly participated and actively contributed in the Focus Groups Discussions we say a big thank you. All the above should not have happened had it not been for the enthusiastic and committed team of students.

Jessica Mazeingo Alexia Katjivikua Wilhelmina Katzao Janice Schimming

To them we say great work and thank you.

In conclusion, we sincerely thank you all for attaching such importance to this invaluable survey and the support you rendered in kind. These all cohered to make the survey a success. A special thanks to you all.

INTRODUCTION

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has implemented democracy support programs in Namibia since 1995. NDI programs have focused on democratic institution building and consolidation of democratic processes and structures, working primarily with elected representatives and civic organizations.

Since its inception in Namibia, NDI has developed programs and conducted activities in consultation with all major stakeholders, including Parliamentarians, Parliament staff, elected regional and local councilors, and members of the executive and representatives of civil society organizations.

NDI Namibia initiated the establishment of a Program Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of all partner organizations. The success of NDI programs in Namibia is to a large extent attributed to the role of this advisory committee and the continued guidance, technical support and financial assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Recognizing that democracy must be people centered and that the Namibian citizens are both the agents and beneficiaries of democratic governance, NDI has placed the Namibian citizenry at the core of the consultative process, soliciting their input in the conceptualization, development and implementation of programs.

NDI has utilized different mechanisms to maximize stakeholder input in the development and implementation of programs. Roundtables, Workshops and Focus Group surveys are some of the instruments that have been used by NDI since 1995.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE FOCUS GROUP SURVEYS

This report is about findings by a group of researchers on the views, opinions and perceptions of samples of individuals representing different sectors of the Namibian

society. In July 2001, NDI commissioned the services of a group of Researchers to conduct a study to determine the views, opinions and perceptions of Namibians towards democratic institutions in Namibia.

The study also sought to determine public knowledge of democratic institutions and processes and access to elected representatives at national, regional, local and traditional levels. Throughout the implementation of its programs, NDI has used Focus Group surveys to determine the impact of program activities on the lives of the Namibian people. The 2001 Focus Group survey results will go a long way in informing NDI on the progress and impact made since 1995, and thereby provide a basis for realistic prioritization during the remainder of the program.

The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of every Namibian citizen, nor those of NDI. This report therefore, contains the views and opinions of individuals who participated in the focus group discussions.

Since 1995, NDI has conducted several Focus Group studies in Namibia, focusing on different topics. However, at a time when NDI Namibia has embarked on the implementation of an exit strategy, the 2001 Focus Group results will assist both NDI and its partners to determine the status of democracy in Namibia, priority areas that require support and strategies that may be used by NDI and its partners in contributing towards the consolidation of democracy in Namibia in the short, medium and long term.

The 2001 Focus Group results complement the Sustainability Study conducted by NDI during the first quarter of 2001. While the assessment focused on the views of NDI partners, the Focus Group survey focuses on the Namibian citizens.

The survey focused on the following specific inquiries, most of them considered as basic pillars of democratic governance to ensure that the results of the survey are inline with NDI program areas, as agreed upon by major partners, not least of which are the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia and USAID:

- A general understanding of democratic governance;
- A general understanding on the roles and obligations of both elected representatives and those that elect them;
- Knowledge of Political Institutions such as Parliament, Regional Authorities,
 Local Authorities, Traditional Authorities and access to these institutions;
- Knowledge of civil society organizations and access to these organizations;
- Knowledge of and access to the Legislative Process;
- Responsiveness of elected representatives at the different levels of governance;
- Knowledge of and access to avenues of Public Participation in the legislative process;
- Accountability and Transparency of government;
- Overall effectiveness of the Namibian political system,
- The decentralization process and;
- Familiarity, feasibility and access to modern technology.

METHODOLOGY

In assessing public opinion, perceptions, attitudes and views, NDI Namibia opted to continue using Focus Group Studies as the main research instrument. Focus Group studies are different from other forms of research, in that representative groups of citizens have an opportunity to talk through issues and questions thoroughly. Focus Group research does not claim to show what everybody thinks, yet the instrument is a good indicator of perceptions and attitudes that are otherwise hard to gauge using other forms of research.

Focus Group surveys provide an opportunity for researchers to learn not only what people think, but why they hold a particular view and how. Unlike other forms of surveys that provide defined questions, Focus Group surveys are not question and answer sessions, but rather discussions moderated by a researcher, providing an opportunity for participants to discuss, debate, reconsider views and explain why they hold a particular

view. In this context, while other forms of surveys have "respondents," Focus Group" surveys have participants and it is for this reason that NDI opted to utilize Focus Group surveys.

While Focus Group surveys were considered more useful within the context of NDI programs in Namibia, the final analysis for each discussion remains a hypothesis requiring further testing. The participants who speak during the Focus Group discussions only testify to their personal experiences, therefore the validity of their conclusions ultimately rests on whether other people have had similar experiences and have come to the same conclusions. To address this challenge, NDI conducted a series of Focus Group Surveys throughout the country, using the same discussion guide with different groups of people.

While the locations for the focus group discussion did not necessarily reflect the demographic composition of Namibia, every effort was made to interview people based on the following criteria:

- Sex, race and age
- Occupation and income
- Place of residence, rural or urban
- Socio-economic status
- Previous experience in Focus Group discussions or similar surveys

A total of 20 Focus Groups were conducted in five administrative regions of Namibia as follows:

Khomas Region

Male Group age 21 – 35
Mixed Group of Male Professionals
Mixed Group of Female Self-employed
Female Group ages 18-21

Ohangwena

Female Group over 35

Male Group 21 - 35Mixed Group of peasant farmers

Mixed group of unemployed

Erongo

Female Group ages 21-35Mixed Group of Female Professionals Mixed Group of Male Self-employed Male Group over 35

Karas

Male Group Over 35
Female Group 21-35Mixed Group of semiskilled
Mixed group of Professional farmers

Omaheke

Female Group over 35
Mixed Male Group
Mixed Male and Female Professionals
Mixed Male and Female Self-employed

The focus group program was conducted during the months of August/September:

	Region	Date/Time	
1.	Khomas	28/8/01	
2.	Ohangwena	3-4/09/01	
3.	Erongo	7-8/09/01	
4.	Omaheke	14-15/09/01	
5.	Karas	11-12/09/01	

The Focus Group discussions were held in a specially designed setting, fitted with recording equipment to enable the organizers to capture a true reflection of the proceedings and produce accurate reports, without compromising critical aspects of Focus Group research, such as the ability to observe the participants, gauge the mood and listen without interfering with the process. The researchers paid specific attention to the different cultural backgrounds of the participants and encouraged participation in languages preferred by the participants. This technique maximized interaction and every effort has been made to ensure the translation preserves the original views of the participants.

The research group met for one week, during which the Focus Group moderators were trained on techniques and strategies for conducting Focus Group surveys. During the oneweek session, the researchers finalized the discussion guide and completed logistical arrangements.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The compelling and most powerful aspect of this report is that it includes the voices of real people. During the survey, the researchers were able to hear the tone and texture of public opinion, the researchers had the opportunity to interact and hear first hand, without intimidation or compromise, public views on issues that matter: socio-economic and political.

Overall, participants in the 2001 Focus Group survey felt that the socio-economic, political situation in Namibia was mostly stagnant in the rural and semi-rural areas while the situation in the urban areas was considered to be progressing.

Most of the participants understood democracy as a concept, and were equally aware of the transition that began in 1989, the dawn of a non-racial and multi-party society and the adoption of a new constitution. The problem, invariably cutting across the different groups, sectors and regions of Namibia was the relationship between democratic governance and the eradication of poverty and socio-economic development.

Participants appreciated and supported the democratic structures existing in Namibia, they acknowledged the existence of civil liberties and the end of political apartheid, but democracy in most cases was defined in economic terms, as one participant in the Khomas Region observed:

Yes, political apartheid is dead and we are now living in a democratic Namibia. But it is the political apartheid that ended, the economic face of apartheid remains intact in Namibia, and in most cases, it is growing stronger.

From the creation of jobs to the closing down of liquor outlets, participants felt that a lot remains to be done if Namibia is to become and remain a truly democratic country, this sentiment was echoed by a participant in the Erongo Region who said:

Namibia is a democracy, but how can people have democracy when they have no jobs, they have no food, they have poor housing, maybe there is democracy in Windhoek and Swakopmund, but not here.

The mood of the Namibian citizens who participated in the discussions was in most cases mixed. While enthusiasm for democracy remains high, the daily problems experienced by most of the participants obscure prospects for democracy in the communities, access to land being one of the biggest problems identified by participants throughout the country. The Namibian citizens who participated in the discussions strongly felt that government had not done enough to address the land issue. One participant in the Karas Region said:

We fought to liberate this country; all along we were fighting for our land. Eleven years later, although we have our own government, we have not won the battle for land, inequalities remain high and until we get access to land, we can not talk about democracy in this country.

MOOD AND OVERALL CONDITIONS OF COMMUNITIES

Eleven years after independence, participants remain enthusiastic about democracy, particularly within the context of political freedom and respect for human rights. This sentiment was echoed across the regions, cutting across the different groups that participated in the survey. However, most participants were quick to qualify their definition of democracy. Democracy was mostly defined in two aspects. The first and most common one being the end of apartheid and the coming into power of the democratically elected government. The second definition was socio-economic whereby participants invariably cited unemployment and alcohol abuse as the main challenges for the democratic process in Namibia. *One participant in the Ohangwena Region said:*

Life is OK here but unemployment leads to poverty in this region and poverty is the biggest threat to democracy in our country.

When discussing living conditions in the communities, besides poverty and unemployment, alcohol abuse was cited as the main cause of the deteriorating standards of living in the communities and as the main culprit contributing towards child and women abuse, and to an extent, the HIV-AIDS pandemic.

The research team noted with interest that in all the discussions, HIV-AIDS was rated third on the list of challenges facing communities. Notably, participants highlighted problems facing their communities, identified the causes of the problem and in some cases proposed solutions and remedies to these problems. While alcohol abuse was rated as the second biggest challenge from unemployment, participants could not identify the source of financial resources spent on alcohol in the communities nor reconcile poverty and alcohol abuse. A Gobabis resident had this to say regarding life in the community:

The abuse of alcohol and drugs amongst the youth is due to a lack of educational and recreational facilities.

A stark contrast was observed when older participants (ages 35 and above) expressed feelings on the need to provide recreational facilities for the youth, while the youth themselves wanted to see more job opportunities and access to finance to start their own businesses.

When discussing community life, women were concerned more about violence and moral decay within their respective communities. A businesswoman in Keetmanshoop said:

Teenagers and school children abuse alcohol even though there is a law that prohibits persons under the age of 18 to buy alcohol. Husbands beat the children and the children then go to the shebeens. Once the children come back home they are violent towards their parents, creating a vicious cycle. These days there is a shebeen next to every house

and this is creating an unsafe environment and even during the day, innocent people are being hurt.

The communities visited by the research team knew what they wanted and most of them were capable of defining the problems and recommending solutions. The team noted with interest the worth of wisdom and knowledge prevalent in the communities. However, participants were concerned that Windhoek did not recognize this potential and often, decisions were made without their input. There was also a prevailing perception that only the needs and views of people from the Northern part of the country were being accommodated and addressed.

And whether this perception in fact has basis or not, this was a recurring perception, particularly when the team visited regions of the country other than those in the North. On the other hand, there was a different view that the leaders in the North had the same amount of public resources like their counterparts in other regions, but that they were more responsive to the needs of their constituents than their counterparts from other regions. A businesswoman in Erongo said:

The Northern part of the country is being developed because the elected leaders are doing what the community asks them to do. In comparison with her area, the lady complained that the local council had purchased a brand new Nissan Maxima that would not serve the community at a time when the community was in a dire need of resources and infrastructure.

The pattern of concerns and problems facing communities in the different parts of the country was similar. A participant in the southern region cited alcohol abuse as the main problem and lack of employment opportunities as the main contributing factor to this growing problem. When asked what she thought was a solution, the participant suggested closing down all the Shebeens, a view that was greeted by jeers from the male participants.

There were also positive developments in the communities, with some participants suggesting that the government needed more time to follow through on its more realistic promises. Some participants even said that life was fine since the roads were being tarred, schools and clinics were being built and business opportunities were available to the previously disadvantaged communities.

The contrasting view to this one was the concern that in some towns, such as Keetmanshoop, racial segregation was still rampant. One businessman said:

Life in Keetmanshoop is difficult, business opportunities exist, but the white people cannot provide or rent their premises to people of other races, regardless of the financial capital at hand to start a business, its impossible to find business premises.

The participant further said, the government can not develop Namibia or create jobs on its own, the government needs the support of the communities and the business sector, but the communities can not assist if the environment does not allow them to, there is therefore a need for development, especially job creation.

Participants also cited the seeming deteriorating security situation in their communities as a major problem. One participant in the Omaheke Region said:

The community is not safe anymore; the government should provide security. Although the government has deployed Special Field Force (SFF), communities regard them as individuals who are contributing to crime rather than combating it, because they beat up people who walk late on the streets and they take earrings and valuables away from them.

Overall, participants in the focus groups acknowledged the end of minority rule, but were quick to separate the end of minority political rule from minority economic rule. Most participants were of the view that economic emancipation was still a dream for most previously disadvantaged communities and that democracy would only succeed if the communities were economically developed. Most of the time there was a direct link

being made between democracy and economic empowerment and participants felt that one could not be in place without the other.

Participants also distinguished between democracy in Windhoek and democracy in other communities outside the city. Participants residing outside of the capital considered the capital city a land of opportunities, a place where the public has more access to government and elected leaders. Participants were concerned that good initiatives, with good intentions were not successful because they were developed in the city, with little consultation, by people who knew little about the communities they were trying to serve.

ACCESS TO ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

The team facilitated discussions on access to elected representatives and leadership in general. The regions expressed various views. One recurring theme, especially among rural communities, was that participants felt much closer to community elders and considered their role as vital to community development. A student in the Ohangwena region said:

Our village elders are the ones serving the communities, and they do not care which party a person belongs to. They do not drive expensive cars and all they care for is the community, we see them everyday, these are the most accessible leaders.

There was also a view that Councilors and church leaders should be given more powers in order to play an active role in their communities. Participants have several concerns regarding decision making and leadership in their communities. A Teacher in the Omaheke Region lamented:

Elders, church leaders and traditional leaders deal with the problems in the community all the time, yet the political system excludes them from the decision-making process at regional and national levels.

We know the leaders, we know their names, we hear about them on the radio, but we have no access to them, we do not see them. The closest leaders whom we see are the ones that are not elected, the chiefs, church leaders and the village elders, the only time we see elected leaders is during elections. A Farmer, in the Karas region said in conclusion.

A participant in the Khomas region said, *The role played by elected representatives is not clear. They are doing nothing; people have to strike in order to be heard; they only help those close to them.*

A professional in the Ohangwena region also concurred with other participants, by saying that: at local and traditional levels, the leaders seem easily accessible to the majority whereas the regional and national governments seems so far removed from the people and communities.

Overall, most of the focus group participants complained about the political system and there was growing cynicism about the representative nature of the representative system in Namibia. There seems to be a culture of helplessness feeding on itself. Notably, some of the participants invariably interpreted nearly everything that was taking place in the political arena cynically. For example, one participant said:

People even accuse those elected representatives who genuinely try to listen of not really hearing what the citizens say.

Of significance during the discussions was the admission by some participants that their own failure to participate contributes to the culture of cynicism. One participant in the Khomas Region said:

I don't think you can divorce democracy and development from the degree to which people do or do not participate in the process, when people do not participate, it helps to create an atmosphere of cynicism.

A participant in the Ohangwena region expressed concern regarding the prevailing cynicism. Cynicism can be infectious, creating a culture or a mind set that can be passed from one generation to another and this is an alarming prospect.

The role of the media was acknowledged and highlighted prominently throughout the surveyed regions. Virtually all participants said that they received information on Parliament and Government through newspapers, radio and television. Many referred to Parliament reports on NBC television while others referred to radio programmes such as Open line and Prime Minister's Question Time.

Moreover, information through indigenous languages such as Oliamanguluka, Eraka ro Tjiuana featured prominently.

Notably, these views and the sense of impotence seem to transcend region and circumstance. People from different walks of life, women and men and youth complained of not being heard. The participants in the Focus Groups did not just complain, they often offered what they considered as solutions to address some of these problems. Below are some of the views as succinctly summarized by participants from various regions. For instance, a participant from Ohangwena Region said:

The role of a Traditional Leaders should be enhanced and where possible elevated, these people do their best to bring the people together and help the communities with their problems every day, Ohangwena Region

The role of local councilors should be improved, they often lack an understanding of the communities they represent, and often, it is the views of town councils and experts that are taken into account, this is a problem, said one participant from the Erongo Region

It was further emphasized that the Regional Councilors should be given more power so that they can work on their own instead of seemingly running back to the Central/National Government for everything and more often than necessary.

Members of Parliament should get the information from the public before they can make decisions; COD, UDF and DTA only concentrate on government faults while the ruling party SWAPO is seemingly ignorant on issues raised by the opposition. Said a participant in the Khomas Region.

If elected representatives begin to fulfill the promises they made during their election campaigns, they will win back public confidence. Said a participant in the Omaheke Region.

The public can only participate if people have access to information and to government. People in the communities do not have access to information nor to government, as they are often not fully aware of what government is doing. However, and if they are, then they are not aware of why and how the government prioritizes its programs. Said a participant in the Karas Region.

The public has to provide its own hope. Nobody is going to come and make everything better or address all our problems, it is us, as a community, we are the problem and we are the solution. Said a participant in the Karas Region.

Notably, participants no longer saw themselves as victims, they saw themselves as agents, they saw themselves as beneficiaries and they seemed to understand their role as citizens of the Republic of Namibia. According to most participants, they understood the problems at hand better that the elected representatives and the experts whom government often use to address problems, because they experience the problems personally.

This thinking was prevalent across regions and among the different groups that participated in the focus groups. This thinking also corresponds with the thinking of participants in the 2000 regional survey conducted by NDI and the National Council, during which participants invariably acknowledged that they had a role to play in the democratic process and in developing their own communities. Participants in both studies

adhered to the principle of "becoming actors rather than casualties" and seeing themselves as the "solution."

ACCESS TO LESGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS

Participants in the focus groups have ideas and they believe that they have solutions to some of the problems facing their communities. Participants in the Focus Groups would like to be involved in the decision making process and they assert that, unless they participate, and unless their views and input are sought before decisions are taken, development and democracy will remain challenges.

Participants were equally aware of the institutions provided for by the constitution to facilitate this process; they understood the role of Parliament, of the Regional Councils and of the Local Authorities. Therefore, the problem was not so much lack of knowledge of the constitutional establishment of representative structures; the problem in most cases is access. In some cases where participants had access, their views were either not considered or the final decision taken by the elected representatives did not reflect the public will.

While participants knew and understood the representative structures at local, regional and national levels, the efficiency of these structures was always a concern. Participants failed to understand how elected representatives, who had emerged from their very communities, failed them.

We know these people, we elected them, but once they go to Windhoek, they forget about the community, they only come here once in a while, particularly during election times and make more promises, said a participant in the Erongo Region.

In the Khomas, Omaheke and Karas Regions, a considerable number of the focus group participants had at some stage, the opportunity to either participate in the legislative and decision making process or followed the deliberations of their elected representatives. The following is what they had to say;

In Parliament, the leaders only make jokes; and even the Prime Minister and the Speaker once told them to stop being childish, Khomas Region.

Parliament acts as the machine that runs the country, I am not sure what the Regional Councils do, I have never heard them conduct a public meeting and I have not attended one, but I know the Councilors and I know their offices. Omaheke Region.

Things will not change unless women are granted more power. Women can do what men can do and they are more mature than men, you can see this in Parliament, the men make noise and women are always concentrating on the issue on the table. Khomas Region.

Countries and institutions with women leaders are progressing, therefore we must have more women leaders too in Namibia, women understand community problems and they are not easily corrupt. Karas Region

Like on all other issues, participants addressed issues thoroughly. Although most participants considered the involvement of women a panacea for some of the problems experienced in the communities, participants including women themselves suggested that women must get themselves into politics and actively take part in addressing issues of importance rather than sitting in the background as spectators, allowing men to lead all the time and then complain when things do not go their way.

It was evident in most communities that there was a time when a small elite could decide what problems were to be solved and how. There were true and tested formulas for solving community problems and usually a small group of leaders, usually men, could marshal the needed resources, which were primarily financial and address the problem at hand. Although this practice has its advantages, participants during the Focus Groups said that this system no longer seems to work in many communities.

A small group of people sitting in Parliament or the Regional Council cannot solve the problems of all the communities, its not just about money, it is about a good and clear understanding of the problem, otherwise money will be spent but the problems will not be solved because the decision making process was not inclusive. Ohangwena Region

THE ROLE OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS/NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

There were different views and opinions on the existence and role of civic organizations or NGOs throughout the regions. Some participants understood the role of NGOs, but their existence was not prominent. In most cases, participants did not understand the role of NGOs in democracy and development and could not identify any NGO working in the communities.

When the researchers probed further and outlined the meaning of an NGO or a civic group, participants invariably mentioned two institutions, the Red Cross and Farmer's Unions, and some isolated instances, Oxfarm was mentioned. In Windhoek, where most of the NGOs operate, participants knew the names and understood what their role was. However, participants were quick to point out that the work of these NGOs is not visible. For instance, participants in Khomas and Omaheke regions had the following to say, respectively:

Yes, we hear of NGOs, we see their offices and we see their cars, but these NGOs work with the donors more than the communities, except when it comes to distributing condoms and putting up posters.

NGOs are present in the community; they participate in the build together projects and neighborhood patrols.

Some participants understood the role of NGOs and CSOs; however, the issue was, on performance and allegiance. Participants felt that NGOs pay their allegiance and are only accountable to the donors and not the communities they claim to serve.

WORD ASSOCIATION

During the survey, participants were taken through a series of phrases and words, to determine their familiarity and what comes to mind when they hear these phrases and words;

When communities hear the word 'Opposition', the following is what comes to mind:

- COD
- Politics
- Unfairness
- Competition
- DTA
- Difference
- Discrimination

When communities hear the word 'Multiparty', the following comes to mind:

- Different parties
- Joint venture
- Togetherness
- Unity

When communities hear the word 'Member of Parliament', the following comes to mind:

Justice

- Rich men Selfish
 - Democratic power
 - High society
 - Government
 - Head of state
 - Hall of fame

When communities hear the word 'National Assembly', the following comes to mind

- Speaker
- Discussions
- Debates
- Decisions
- Disagreement
- Laws
- **Promises**

When communities hear the word 'National Council', the following comes to mind:

- Discipline
- Rules
- Control
- Leaders
- Take our issues

When communities hear the word 'Politician', the following comes to mind:

- Hypocrite
- Greedy

	• Freedom
	 Meant to serve the nation
	• Hero
	• Justice
	• Self-righteous
	• Actors
Whe	en communities hear the word 'Gender Equality', the following comes to mind:
	• Discrimination
	• Unfair
	 Possible
	• Fighting
	• Debatable
	• Unfair decisions
	• Dictatorship
Whe	en communities hear the word 'Women's Rights', the following comes to mind:
	• Unnecessary
	• Male rights
	• Mental rights
	• Jealousy
	• Education

• Empty promises

• Lies

• Rights

• Law

When communities hear the word 'Constitution', the following comes to mind:

- Freedom of speech
- Unfair
- Abuse of power
- Good governance
- Ignorance
- Capable

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The Focus Group Survey exercise revealed a number of realities characterizing Namibian society, a decade after the country's independence. While the findings contained in this report cannot be considered as the views of every Namibian citizen, but merely as views of those who participated in the focus group studies, there are nonetheless, some general themes that affect the broader community. Among them feature limited employment opportunities, violence and crime, the challenge of political apathy and limited access to elected representatives. Some of these findings revealed themselves during previous studies conducted by other researchers, among them the University of Namibia.

A unique feature in the 2001 survey is that, participants did not only highlight problems and challenges, but went on further to offer solutions to these problems. Moreover, participants in the 2001 survey demonstrated abilities to distinguish between government's responsibilities from those of elected representatives as well as both these responsibilities from those of the citizenry. They however, remained at best, ambivalent about the standing in society and role of Civil Society Organizations.

Participants in most of the regions surveyed were concerned that, while the representative system was good, it did not always represent their views. They held that the pace of regional development and service delivery was slow and they attributed that to what they term lack of communication, consultation and coordination. Participants strongly felt that, while they would be consulted on certain matters, a political culture seems to be brewing where the public feel that their input in the decision making process does not

matter, as decisions are taken with limited or no consultation at all, by a small group of people, lobbyists and special interest groups. This development is growing into a perception of marginalization where particular political trends are generalized into formulas for dictating the course of political life in Namibia.

Overall, the Focus Groups Surveys were helpful in identifying perceptions, views and attitudes of the Namibian people towards democracy, political institutions, regional and local authorities, the legislative process, accountability and transparency in government, effectiveness of the Namibian political system and decentralization.

The survey revealed that Namibian citizens appreciated democracy and its institutions, albeit with attendant misapprehensions. Namibians seemed to be unanimous in their perception that, although their elected representatives were by and large, acquitting themselves appropriately in the governance of state, the need for extensive outreach activities to constituencies cannot be exhausted. *Our Government has done well so far, we have peace and democracy... we want jobs in Karas, we want the government to develop the whole country, exclaimed one participant in the Karas Region.*

Among the issues of concern were poverty, unemployment, limited schools for children, school drop out and failure rates, limited vocational training facilities, and lack of qualified teachers. Also, nepotism, tribalism and regionalism were cited as concerns. In fact, there were strong sentiments by participants, that Government was not doing enough to curb poverty, unemployment, crime, nepotism and corruption.

Participants had limited knowledge of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the functions they performed in society. Some were aware of expatriate NGOs such as Oxfarm and the Red Cross. They regarded the expatriate NGOs as donors, but notably there was minimal recognition of indigenous NGOs and CSOs.

Some participants took issue with the way land acquisition and distribution has progressed. Many believed that if land distribution was done properly, it could help

relieve poverty and unemployment, and ultimately create an environment conductive for democracy. Although they were familiar with the political order guaranteed by independence and the concomitant democracy, few participants had seen the Constitution of Namibia and, even fewer had read it, partly due to the fact that the document primarily appeared in the English language, which is not widely read by the populace, much as it is the official language.

The question therefore is not the existence of democracy in Namibia, but its effectiveness. The question is no longer the existence of institutions and representative structures, but access, responsiveness and effectiveness. The question in the minds of the participants is not necessarily the role of women or men, but the role of elected representatives who regard and respect the citizens as the legitimate authors of the public will.

Democracy within this context is therefore about solving problems, and even more. Democracy from the perspective of the participants means civil liberties and socio-economic development. Democracy within this context means the building of a community and a country that the people themselves want it to be. Democracy in this context is about transformation and not just transaction.

The participants have vested the mandate to realize this vision in the hands of elected representatives. Participants no longer see themselves as victims of the system waiting to be empowered by someone else or as critical consumers of available political solutions. Participants across the regions see themselves as the ultimate solution. They recognize and acknowledge their role as citizens in Namibia's democracy and they feel that they are well on track as they have fulfilled their civic duty by electing representatives.

The challenge therefore is the effectiveness of the representative system in Namibia. The challenge is the availability of both human and financial capacity and skills in these institutions to fulfil this constitutional mandate. This is a challenge for the government of the Republic of Namibia and development partners, both local and international. This is a challenge for a society in transition.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants made a number of recommendations with regard to enhancing the democratic

process. These are: that,

• women should be brought into the political mainstream,

• vocational training centers be established to help curb unemployment,

• access to elected leaders be improved and enhanced,

• Government/Parliament implement reforms to curb unemployment nepotism,

tribalism, corruption, crime and regionalism,

• land reform be a priority that is fair and transparent and,

• CSOs increase public understanding of their essential roles in the consolidation of

democracy.

APPENDICES:

Appendix I:

TOR (available elsewhere)

Appendix II: QUESTIONNAIRE (available elsewhere)

29

7 December 2001

Dr. Achieng Akumu

Director

NDI

Dear Dr. Akumu

RE: FOCUS GROUP REPORT 2001

This memorandum serves to submit the above-mentioned report to you. The report

attempts to pull together the findings of the Focus Groups Survey conducted in five of the

thirteen political regions of Namibia and as summarized as concluding observations, on

page 23 of the said report therewith submitted.

The findings contained in this report are indicative and representative of the general

perceptions and opinions of the Namibian citizenry on some key issues as listed on page

5 of the said report. These include a general understanding of some key

elements/features of democratic governance, especially in terms of accountability,

transparency of government; accessibility to elected representatives, general knowledge

on the roles and obligations of the elect and the elected, decentralisation and knowledge

of insititutionalised political structures.

Nonetheless, these findings are in no way conclusive nor exhaustive and while they

cannot be considered as views of every Namibian citizen, they are nevertheless credible.

There is therefore no doubt in our minds that useful generalization can be drawn from

these perceptions and opinions.

Firstly, many participants across the regions acknowledge and highly appreciate the

existence of the new post-independent era that ushered in a new order with the

Constitution of the independent Republic of Namibia – as the Supreme Law of the Land.

Albeit, some have not read it but are nevertheless, aware of its existence and other

institutionalized political structures in place in Namibia. However, most participants

draw a distinction between existence and effective utilization of such structures.

30

There is, thus need to maximize their utility to the maximum benefit of all Namibians as they put their hands on deck to facilitate and consolidate the democratization process. Secondly, there is the question of the multi-dimensional definition of democracy. Democracy means different things to different people. To the ordinary citizen, and as could be inferred from the survey findings, there is a correlation being drawn between democracy and the politics of the belly. While democracy to the politician may mean an institution in itself with its own abstraction of reality, to the general Namibian public it may mean a bread and butter issue. See as succinctly summarized by a participant on page 10 of the report. Owing to the above, it is clear that participants are quick to point out that democracy on an empty stomach, without shelter due to unemployment and landlessness may not be after all, sustainable. There is, thus a need for the elected representatives and political leaders to stay in touch with their constituencies, to consult, to educate and in the processes to bridge the gap between these perceptions.

The challenge is, thus to bridge the seemingly di-mentrically opposed views to merge into an all-embracing interpretation of the democratization process. Thirdly, and as noted on page 23 of the said report, a unique feature in the 2001 survey is that there is a paradigm shift whereby participants perceive themselves not only as passive recipients and beneficiaries but most importantly as active agents of democratic governance. There is, thus a great need to make democracy a people-centered consultative process geared toward alleviation of poverty, through effective land reform measures that are fair, transparent and realistic.

The challenge is, thus to uphold the above as important pillars that are at the centre of consolidation of democracy in Namibia. For your perusal we have tried to summarize what the people in the regions surveyed said. We have further attempted to briefly analyze the implications of what they say and present some generalizations from which useful inferences could be drawn for your future action. However, for a more detailed exposition on the above see the said report.

In a nutshell and in the final analysis, there is clearly a case being made for more work to

be done in the sphere of democratization process in Namibia. It is our sincere hope that

what remains to be done by NDI will be done and NDI will no doubt, continue to do the

good work it has started in Namibia.

We sincerely thank you for having given us the opportunity to serve the Namibian nation

in this honourable way that helped us to revisit our communities. This has been an

invaluable opportunity that has rekindled the interest in our communities yet again.

This has indeed been a memorable experience and we only hope and trust that something

honourable and beneficial to the Namibian populace will come out from this report.

Once again, thanks.

Sincerely yours

Mr. Vezera Bob Kandetu

Dr. Becky, R.K. Ndjoze-Ojo

Mr. Pero Nampila

32



SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT FOR CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY PROGRAM IN NAMIBIA 2001

Produced by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in collaboration with the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia.		
This publication was made possible through a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).		
© The Parliament of the Republic of Namibia and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), 2001.		

FORWARD

Choice is at the heart of democracy, but our choices are not entirely free. Human choice is fettered by history, by context, by biology, by expected consequences and by imagination. Every choice has a history, and a price. In politics, the scope for choice is often particularly fettered. Choice may never be entirely free, but neither is it totally determined; to argue that it is, as a result of biology, the unconscious, predestination or whatever would be to abolish ethics. This is not the position of this *Sustainability Assessment for Consolidation of Democracy Program in Namibia*. This admirable and reflective report on the work of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI/Namibia) in collaboration with the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia, offers valuable insights into the state of democratic life, more especially, in respect of Parliament in a country that until recently tasted foreign domination and war.

For the past seven years, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI/Namibia), guided by the recommendations of the *Agenda for Change*, a report crafted by the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia in 1995 and subsequently adopted in 1998, has been responding to the special capacity needs of Parliament. Informed by the understanding that Parliament is at the heart of democracy, the NDI embarked upon a multidimensional training and publication program in an attempt to bring parliamentary democracy to life in one of Africa's younger democracies. This *Sustainability Assessment for Consolidation of Democracy Program in Namibia* chronicles not only the work of the NDI, but also reflects on democratic consolidation, more especially in its institutional dimensions.

The concept of 'democratic consolidation' and how it relates to Parliament is explored with special reference to eight interrelated dimensions. These are:

- The work and importance of parliamentary committees
- Relations between the National Assembly and the National Council, especially in respect of lawmaking and legislative review
- Information, research and policy analysis
- Member's support (empowering Members of Parliament)
- Parliamentary staff
- The media and Parliament
- Civil society and Parliament, and
- The Electoral System.

NDI conducted three sets of surveys to gather more information on the current status of the various recommendations embodied in the Agenda for Change. For this purpose a survey was carried out among Members of Parliament, while separate surveys were administered for the parliamentary secretariat and civil society actors. Collectively, these surveys provide a unique insight into how the recipients of the NDI's work and programs view these. They also provide a status report on the progress made and challenges that lie ahead in respect of the many recommendations of the Agenda for Change.

The value of this *Sustainability Assessment* lies in its recognition that there are complex linkages between a transition to democracy, the conditions needed for sustaining it and its consolidation. As such, this Report deserves to be widely read and discussed, for in its one unique way it is a powerful example of democracy in action. There are indeed tough choices to be made, not least of all in respect of the consolidation of a democracy program in Namibia, but also in respect of democracy itself.

Prof Andre du Pisani

Department of Political and Administrative Studies University of Namibia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

III.	Methodology			
	A.	Surv	eys	
	В.	Post	Survey Outreach and Input	
IV.	Cons	nstraints		
V.	Susta	Sustainability Defined		
VI.	Analysis and Conclusions on NDI Programming and Recommendations of the Agenda for Change			
	A.	Parli	Parliamentary Committees	
		i.	Committee Structure	
		ii.	Committee Functions	
		iii.	Committee Policy	
	В.	The Work of the Two Chambers		
	C.	Information, Research and Policy Analysis		
	D.	Mem	Member's Support	
		i.	Secretariat	
		ii.	Members	

I.

II.

Executive Summary

iii.

Recommendations

Conclusion

The Media

Civil Society

Discussion on Member Survey

Appendix 1: Memorandum of Understanding

Appendix 2: Secretariat Questionnaire Results Chart Appendix 3: Civil Society Questionnaire Results Chart Appendix 4: Member of Parliament Survey Questions Appendix 5: Summary Chart of NDI Programming Status Appendix 6: Status of Agenda for Change Recommendations

E.

F.

G.

Η.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

Ethics

The Electoral System

The Staff Who Serve Parliament

Introduction

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Sustainability Assessment was a comprehensive evaluation of the Democratic Institution Building and Consolidation of Democracy assistance agreements between NDI/Namibia, USAID/Namibia and the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia spanning the last seven years and are scheduled to end in September 2002. The goal of the assessment was to evaluate the current status of NDI's programming and identify those programs that are currently sustained, programming that can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant, and programming that cannot be sustained.

The assessment was modeled on the Agenda for Change which is the blueprint for NDI's work in Namibia. The result of numerous study missions, the Agenda for Change was produced by the Parliament of Namibia in 1995 and subsequently adopted in 1998. The Agenda for Change contains numerous recommendations concerning the Namibian Parliament and therefore has served as the guide for NDI's programming.

In order to gain input from NDI's partners and to gather information on the status of the recommendations of the Agenda for Change, NDI conducted surveys with Members of Parliament, the parliamentary secretariat and seven civil society organizations. These were not scientific surveys, nor an attempt at gathering statistically valid data. They were a method to gather information relatively quickly from a large number of people to gauge opinions, outstanding needs and general skill levels.

Data from the surveys was analyzed with emphasis placed on the results of the Members survey. Members ranked the following as the most important NDI programs: Budget Programs, Induction Programs, Bill Analysis Programs and computer training.

The analysis resulted in the identification of programs that can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. They are listed in the center column of Appendix 5.

The results of the analysis were then placed into a draft of this Assessment. The draft was used to guide discussions at an internal NDI/Namibia strategy retreat. The result of this retreat was a draft 12-month work plan delineating 42 activities required in the remaining period of the grant to sustain programming efforts beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

This draft work plan then guided consultations with USAID/Namibia and Parliament. USAID/Namibia and Parliament contributed to the strategies to sustain the ongoing NDI programming. Their contributions were incorporated into this document and the final 12-month work plan. See Appendix 7 for the Final 12-month Work Plan.

This Assessment concludes that while the Budget Program, Induction Programs and Bill Analysis Programs are essential to sustain, the Information Management System (IMS) and computer skills training will be NDI's legacy in Namibia. The resulting 12-month work plan containing 42 activities is not realistic and as a result, NDI/Namibia, USAID

Namibia and Parliament will need to continue to closely consult to further narrow priorities.

II. INTRODUCTION

In September 1998, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) entered into a four-year cooperative agreement with the United States Agency for International Development Mission to Namibia (USAID/Namibia) to support consolidation of parliamentary democracy and increase citizens' participation in the legislative process. This agreement was a follow-on to the 1994 USAID grant, Democratic Institution Building (DIB). The consolidation of democracy was to be accomplished primarily through continued assistance to both houses of Parliament, and secondarily through advocacy training for civil society organizations and capacity building for journalists covering Parliament. This program is the continuation of the three successful years of DIB during which NDI developed structures and refined procedures to assist with the establishment of an efficient, transparent, independent and accountable Parliament.

Since NDI first began working with the Namibian Parliament in 1990, significant progress has been made in creating a Parliament that is not a 'rubber-stamp' for the executive. The Consolidation of Democracy agreement comprises two phases: phase one, which spanned September 1998 through September 2000; and phase two (in which NDI currently operates) which began September 2000 and ends September 2002.

This assessment of the Consolidation of Democracy program in Namibia was included in the proposal. This assessment began in January, 2001 to determine what aspects of the last seven years are currently sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant, what can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant, and what cannot. From this assessment, NDI/Namibia's final work plan has been developed to ensure those programs identified as priorities are sustained before the close of the cooperative agreement. This assessment began with an examination of the Agenda for Change, which is the foundation for the Democratic Institution Building and Consolidation of Democracy programs.

The Agenda for Change was produced by the Parliament of Namibia in July 1995. It was subsequently amended and adopted in 1998. It was the result of nine study missions to Europe, Asia, Central America and the Caribbean. The impetus for the Agenda was the reality that Namibia has "...not yet established Parliament effectively at the heart of democracy..." and that Parliamentary "...autonomy is yet to be realized." See Agenda for Change at page 1.

The Agenda for Change became, and continues to be, the blueprint for NDI's work. The Agenda for Change serves as the rationale for the assistance agreement with USAID/Namibia and the tripartite Memorandum of Understanding between USAID/Namibia, NDI and Parliament. See Appendix 1 for the Memorandum of Understanding. The Agenda acts as the framework to guide programs in consultation with Parliament, its political leadership, civil society and key stakeholders.

"There is no doubt that the implementation of the recommendations and proposals contained in this document will empower the parliamentarians thus strengthening the institutions of Parliament and enhancing democracy an[d] accountability in general in our country for many generations to come." See Report of the Joint Select Committee on Agenda for Change at page 3.

Consequently, this NDI assessment begins and ends within the context of the Agenda for Change in conjunction with NDI and USAID goals and objectives. The Agenda for Change will be reviewed in a conference at the conclusion of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

III. METHODOLOGY

The analysis consisted of seven parts:

- 1. Identifying the recommendations in the Agenda for Change;
- 2. Identifying NDI programming addressing each of the recommendation(s) from the Agenda for Change;
- 3. Determining the current status of NDI programming addressing the recommendation(s) using:
 - a. NDI's seven years of experience in Namibia;
 - b. data from the three surveys;
 - c. input from the NDI retreat, USAID, and Parliament;
- 4. Concluding whether or not ongoing NDI programing can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant;
- 5. Outlining strategies to preserve NDI programming that can be sustained;
- 6. Concluding whether recommendations made in the Agenda for Change were incorporated, are currently unincorporated, or were rejected by Parliament;
- 7. Consolidating strategies into final 12-month work plan.

The first step was to identify the recommendations made in the Agenda for Change. Most are listed on pages 3-5 of the Agenda as A1 through H1. The recommendations are categorized by topic in the Agenda for Change. There are also recommendations made within the text of the Agenda, such as the recommendation that Ministers not sit on committees. These were extracted and listed in the appropriate category. The source in the Agenda is cited following the quoted recommendation. For purposes of this assessment, the category of Civil Society (which is addressed in the Agenda for Change but not in a category of its own) was added. The categories relevant to the Consolidation of Democracy are: Parliamentary Committees; The Work of the Two Chambers;

Information, Research and Policy Analysis; Member's Support; The Staff Who Serve Parliament; The Media; Civil Society; and the Electoral System.

Next, a review of NDI's work over the last seven years was consolidated into an extensive list of programs and publications. This information was gathered from a review of monthly reports, activity reports, evaluation reports, semi-annual reports, and final reports of the last seven years. The titles and dates of these programs and publications are listed under the category of the recommendations from the Agenda for Change which they sought to address. See NDI/Namibia annual and semi-annual reports for more information on individual programs or publications.

Some programs and publications addressed more than one category, and were therefore placed under multiple categories. From this review, it could be determined what recommendations were addressed, quantitatively (not qualitatively) how they were addressed and what recommendations were not addressed.

The analysis includes a determination of whether a recommendation from the Agenda for Change has been incorporated into Parliament's structures or processes, is currently unincorporated, or has been rejected by Parliament. This analysis revealed recommendations in the Agenda for Change that:

- •Parliament addressed independent of NDI programming;
- •have not been addressed;
- •have been addressed but are not fully incorporated yet; or
- •cannot be addressed because they have been rejected by Parliament.

This part of the analysis distinguishes the status of an NDI program from the status of a recommendation of the Agenda for Change. For example, Parliament, in conjunction with NDI or independently, may have addressed a recommendation from the Agenda for Change thereby fulfilling the recommendation. No further programming by NDI or Parliament was, or is, necessary. This was the case, for instance, with allowances for committee work for Members of Parliament. From this part of the analysis, the status, not only of NDI programming can be gleaned, but of the recommendation itself.

A. Surveys

NDI conducted surveys to gain more information on the current status of the various recommendations in the Agenda for Change and also to gain input from NDI's partners. An opinion survey was conducted with Members of Parliament. Additionally, NDI conducted skill level surveys with both the parliamentary secretariat and civil society organizations. It is important to note that these were not scientific surveys, nor an attempt at gathering statistically valid data. This was an attempt to gather information relatively quickly from a large number of people to gain an impression of opinions, outstanding needs and the general skill levels in different areas relevant to the USAID/NDI Consolidation of Democracy programs.

Member of Parliament Survey

The survey questionnaire for Members of Parliament was administered in a series of 'one-on-one' interviews by Bob Kandetu, an NDI evaluation/program consultant, Achieng Akumu, NDI Country Director, and Richard Salazar, NDI Senior Program Officer. The survey consisted of both quantitative and qualitative questions culminating in the final question: "What should be the focus of NDI's work in the next two years?" (See Member of Parliament Survey Questions in Appendix 4). The emphasis in the survey was to isolate programs important to Members, in practice and in theory, and to identify the willingness on the part of Members of Parliament to assume these programs by dedicating to them both financial and human resources.

Due to time and monetary constraints, NDI interviewed a sampling of the 98 Members of Parliament. NDI contacted 39 Members including the four presiding members of Parliament (the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, the Chairman of the National Council and the Vice-Chairperson of the National Council), five Ministers, five Deputy Ministers, the twelve Chief Whips, three SWAPO backbenchers, and ten Members of opposition parties. The sample included 30 Members of the National Assembly and nine from the National Council. The sample was also gender sensitive.

Interviews were conducted with 24 of the 39 Members. Therefore, **62 percent** of the proposed sample was surveyed (or **25 percent** of the 98 total Members of Parliament). The remaining Members in the sample did not respond to NDI's requests for interviews despite several attempts. Each category of Members was surveyed except the SWAPO backbenchers who did not respond to NDI's requests for interviews.

Secretariat Survey

Concurrently, NDI conducted a skills survey of the parliamentary secretariat. The assumption was that where secretariat skills are high, programs are more likely to be sustained, and where skills are low, programs are less likely to be sustained.

The Secretariat survey consisted of a four-page questionnaire divided into twelve categories including:

•job parameters•legislation•publications

budgetcomputersmedia

•library and research •English skills

•meetings •induction programs

Under each category was a list of statements. Each statement was followed by the numbers one through five. The participant was to read the statements and indicate the level of agreement or disagreement with the statement, with the number one representing "agree strongly" and the number five representing "disagree strongly." For purposes of clarity, these five levels of agreement were consolidated into three (agree, not sure, and

disagree) when the data was compiled. See Appendix 2 for the Secretariat Questionnaire and Results Chart.

The survey was anonymous although a space was provided for the participant to write the office in Parliament in which they work. All participants were told their participation in the survey was voluntary. Additionally, participants were told that if they found a question irrelevant, offensive, or otherwise objectionable, they did not have to answer it.

A list of staff from both houses and general services of Parliament was compiled. Those listed had participated in at least one NDI program in the last seven years. The list comprised 45 staff members from the level of Secretary to Committee Clerk. By the deadline for return of the distributed surveys, 32 surveys had been completed representing a 71 percent return rate.

The secretariat survey achieved its intended results by providing NDI with an impression of current skill levels of parliamentary staff. The sample was significant enough to make generalizations based on the responses.

The survey contained general skill categories that apply to each staff member regardless of their position such as job parameters, analyzing and reviewing legislation, budget development, computer literacy, organizing and conducting meetings, and rules of procedure. There are more specialized skills addressed by statements within some of the general skill categories. For example, under the general category of legislation there is the statement: "I can write a bill summary." Additionally, there are more specialized skill categories in the survey such as library and research; study missions; publications; media; and induction programs. All parliamentary staff do not necessarily share these specialized skills. Therefore, specialized skill levels may seem low where they are actually high--just not common to many staff. For example, the lawyers in Parliament may have a high skill level for producing bill summaries, but a very low skill level at producing the publication *The Debate*. The opposite may also be true for the staff that publishes *The Debate*. Therefore, when analyzing the survey results it was necessary not only to consider the percentages, but the raw numbers of staff. The raw numbers are noted in this assessment when it is an important factor in an analysis.

Civil Society Survey

The same method was used to assess civil society organization (CSO) skill levels. NDI compiled a list of CSOs who received training from NDI in the last seven years. A questionnaire was compiled and categorized. The subjects included:

> advocacy •proposals budget publications research •media workshops

The questionnaire sought to determine the skill level of civil society partners in terms their its advocacy ability, fluency with national policy issues including the national budget, research abilities, workshop skills, proposal writing, publication production capacity, and competency when engaging and interacting with the media. The questionnaire used the numbered scale described previously. Again, the survey was anonymous. The questionnaire was distributed to nine CSOs:

- •Association of Regional Councils (ARC)
- •Namibian Non-Governmental Organizational Forum (NANGOF)
- •Katutura Community Radio (KCR)
- •Namibian National Farmers Union (NNFU)
- •Namibia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI)
- •Omusema Training and Associates (OTRA)
- •Urban Trust of Namibia (UTN)
- •Women's Manifesto Network (WMN)
- •BRICKS

Seven of the nine organizations responded resulting in a **78 percent** return rate. ARC and NCCI did not respond. The results and contents of this survey are contained in Appendix 3.

B. Post Survey Outreach and Input

NDI compiled and analyzed the resulting data, and a draft of this assessment was completed. The draft framed an NDI/Namibia staff retreat where findings and priorities were discussed to guide the remainder of the USAID/NDI program. These discussions are incorporated in the analysis portions of the final assessment. The retreat culminated in the drafting of NDI/Namibia's final 12-month work plan spanning from June 2001 to June 2002.

The draft 12-month work plan was presented to USAID/Namibia for their consideration and input. USAID/Namibia was updated on the sustainability assessment and discussions from the NDI/Namibia retreat. Following input from USAID/Namibia, NDI consulted jointly with the Secretaries of both Houses of Parliament for their input on the draft 12-month work plan. The Secretaries were also updated on the sustainability assessment and discussions from the NDI/Namibia retreat. Subsequently, the Secretaries briefed the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairman of the National Council on the sustainability assessment and draft 12-month work plan for their input. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between NDI, Parliament and USAID states:

"The Parliament of the Republic of Namibia continues its clear commitment to sustaining the program after its completion by providing for recurring costs for the structures and services created in the program, particularly computer and legislative support services and library resources."

Finally, following consultation with USAID and Parliament, NDI presented a draft of this assessment and the draft 12-month work plan to the Project Advisory Committee for advice and input.

This process involved, and continues to require, many difficult choices. There is not sufficient time to sustain all programs that are potentially sustainable. It should be noted that setting these priorities does not imply the abandonment of any parliamentary or civil society program. It is NDI's hope that sustainable programs that do not make the short list can be revisited as the end of the current grant draws near. Therefore, it is with an optimistic view that these programs are temporarily set aside to be sustained later with additional funding, and not with a cynical view that the work is abandoned and left to wither on the vine.

IV. CONSTRAINTS

It is important to note that the Republic of Namibia has made great strides in its 11 year parliamentary democracy. A comprehensive evaluation of the sustainability of the Consolidation of Democracy must include the constraints placed on the program. These include the following:

- 1. Because there are only 32 back-benchers in the National Assembly, they are required to sit on as many as four or five committees. This negatively affects their work.
- 2. Members of Parliament and the Parliamentary secretariat have insufficient research skills and, to date, Parliament has not filled the position of Director of Library, Research and Information.
- 3. Intraparty loyalty prevents some Committee Chairpersons from conducting oversight, and therefore, the skills to conduct oversight are minimal.
- 4. Due to Parliament's tight schedule, lack of a joint calendar, and limited human resources, national and regional constituency outreach activities remain inconsistent.
- 5. There is no capacity for backbenchers to initiate legislation.
- 6. There is limited political commitment to pass legislation creating an Independent Parliamentary Service as high parliamentary staff turnover continues to negatively affect programming and sustainability.
- 7. International commitments of the Presiding Officers and Secretaries delay planning and implementation of programs and deputies are not delegated sufficient authority to plan and implement programs in the absence of the Presiding Officers and Secretaries.

V. SUSTAINABILITY DEFINED

Sustainability means Parliament self-sufficiency beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. Parliament achieves self-sufficiency by having efficient support programs and adequate budget to empower itself and its Members with the necessary

capacity to direct its own future development both independently and with support from Namibian organizations. Parliament (and civil society) must own, identify and drive sustainable mechanisms for on-going training and education for Members and staff within the institution itself. These mechanisms can be lodged within the institution or, in its sole discretion, Parliament can draw on the skills and resources of Namibian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), CSOs, academic institutions and other service providers outside Parliament in order to maintain parliamentary capacity.

A program will be considered sustained when:

- 1. Parliament identifies a provider (which may be itself) who:
 - a. has experience training and/or producing publications;
 - b. has adequate human and other resources to fill a need;
 - c. has an understanding of a program and written terms of reference:
 - d. is nonpartisan;
- 2. responsibility and files have been transferred from NDI to the provider; and
- 3. Parliament makes or obtains a financial commitment to sustain a program.

VI. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS ON NDI PROGRAMMING AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

The quoted recommendations of the Agenda for Change in each category are followed by the analysis. First, NDI programming addressing the recommendations is identified and charted. There is a great deal of NDI's work not captured in these charts. This includes ongoing programs such as Parliamentary Information Communication Technology (PICT) training, management training, research training, technical advice, comparative research and sub-grants. These were captured in the text of the analysis when appropriate. Second, the current status of NDI programming addressing the recommendations is determined using NDI's experience, data from the three surveys and input from the NDI retreat, USAID, and Parliament. Third, it is concluded whether or not ongoing NDI programming can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. Fourth, a strategy to maintain NDI programming that can be sustained is outlined. Fifth, it is concluded whether the recommendations made in the Agenda for Change have been incorporated, are currently unincorporated, or have been rejected by Parliament.

A. Parliamentary Committees

There are twenty recommendations concerning parliamentary committees made in the Agenda for Change. These recommendations are divided into three categories for ease of discussion: committee structure, committee functions and committee policy. NDI addressed these twenty recommendations of the Agenda for Change through implementation of forty-eight programs and publications.

CHART 1: NDI PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE PROGRAMS TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	Indonesia Study Mission Roundtable—National Council	8 December 2000
2 3 4	Budget Workshop—NC	4-5 December 2000
3	Indonesia Study Mission—NC	16-25 November 2000
4	Media Training—National Assembly	20 November 2000
5	Workshop to Review Draft of Guide for Committee	20 November 2000
	Chairpersons—NA	
6	National Council—NC	24-25 October 2000
7	Induction II—NA	12-14 September 2000
8	Bill Summary and Bill Analysis WorkshopNA/NC	22-25 August 2000
9	Louisiana Study Mission Report Back Session—NA/NC	18 July 2000
10	Post-Ghana Study Mission Roundtable 1-3—NA	July 2000
11	The Regional Survey Conclusion (13 workshops)NC	29 June 2000
12	Louisiana, USA Study Mission for Legislative	June 12-23 2000
	Drafting—NA	
13	Ghana Study Mission—NA	12-17 June 2000
14	Budget Briefing—NC	22-23 May 2000
15	Budget Briefing—NA	19 April 2000
16	Induction I—NA	22-27 March 2000
17	Legislative Skills Workshop	23 November 1999
18	Legislative Skills Workshop	12 November, 1999
19	Committee Clerks Workshop—NA/NC	27 October 1999
20	HIV/AIDS Workshop—NA/NC	9 September 1999
21	Staff Attachment to Australia—NA/NC	20 August-15 September 1999
22	Gender/Advocacy Workshop	21 August 1999
23	Bill Analysis Workshop	23 July 1999
24	Practical Skills and Procedures Workshop	29 April 1999
25	Budget Briefing	12 April 1999
26	Secretarial Training	September 1998
27	NANGOF Parliamentary Monitoring Program	May 1998
28	National Council Standing Rules and Orders Workshop	May 1998
29	Budget Workshop	February 1998
30	Ethics Study Mission to Botswana	November 1997
31	Bill Analysis Workshop 2	October 1997
32	Anti-Corruption Conference in Peru	October 1997
33	Study Mission for National Council to USA	September 1997
34	Ethics Conference	June 1997
35	Budget Awareness Workshop, MPs and NGOs	April-May 1997

36	Women's Caucus Study Mission—NA/NC	December 1996
37	Study Mission to India and Malaysia—NA/NC	December 1996
38	Research Training—NA/NC	October 1996
39	Computer Skills Training—NA/NC	August 1996
40	Women's Caucus Workshop—NA/NC	July 1996
41	Bill Analysis Workshop—NA/NC	July 1996
42	Conference and Workshop with NCSL—NA/NC	June 1996
43	Committee Workshop—NA/NC	May 1996
44	Understanding the National Budget (including six	19 November 1997
	translations)	
45	Analyzing Legislation: Reading Bills Critically	June 1997
46	A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet	June 2001
47	How Laws are Made	1996
48	The Debate	1997 and continuing

i. Committee Structure

- 1. "Parliament should establish a full system of permanent Select Committees to examine the work and policies of all government ministries. To achieve consistency and accuracy with current practice, the word 'select' should be read as: standing/select with the deletion of the word 'permanent'." See Agenda for Change A1 and Report of the Joint Select Committee on Agenda for Change at page 4. See also Agenda for Change 6.8(C).
- 2. "Ad hoc and Special Committees should be set up as and when either chamber finds it necessary." *See Agenda for Change* 6.8(g).

Discussion on Establishment of Committees including Ad hoc and Special Committees

Both Houses of Parliament, the National Assembly and the National Council, have established standing committees in their standing rules and orders. The National Assembly established its committees in 1996, and the committees began functioning in 1997. The National Council's committees were established and began functioning in 1999. The committees of the two houses are young (4 years-old in the National Assembly and 2 years-old in the National Council), and growing slowly, but growing well. They show promise to become effective checks on the Executive branch of government. The standing committees in the National Assembly are:

- •Standing Rules and Orders and Internal Arrangements
- Privileges
- Public Accounts
- •Reports of the Ombudsman

- Natural Resources
- •Human Resources, Equality and Gender Development
- •Economics
- Security
- •Governmental Affairs
- Petitions

The standing committees in the National Council are:

- •Standing Rules and Orders
- Steering
- Privileges
- •Public Accounts and the Economy
- •Constitutional and Legal Affairs
- •Regional Development and Reports
- •Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security

Both houses of Parliament have adopted, and continue to revise, standing rules and orders for their committees. There are competent human resources and other support dedicated to the committees in the form of committee clerks, legal advisors, and the common services research division. The standing rules and orders for each house provide written terms of reference for each committee. Each house has sole responsibility for its committees and initiates rule and policy changes on its own. Parliament has dedicated financial resources to the committees of both houses in its budget.

Ad hoc and special committees are provided for in the standing rules and orders of both houses and have been constituted in practice. The use of ad hoc and special committees has been limited, but has been successful. The Committee on Petitions in the National Assembly is an inherently ad hoc committee. It can receive petitions on a wide range of topics, hold meetings on the petitions and report to the Committee of the Whole House. Further, Parliament, in 1999, established a special joint Budget Committee to examine the Parliament's budget, but has not continued this practice.

NDI programming has included continual technical advice and comparative research on the standing rules and orders. Further, NDI has assisted the development of Parliament's committee structure through comparative research, study missions and attachments for Members of Parliament, Committee Chairpersons, and staff. Workshops and seminars by NDI have included resources persons from other countries to guide the establishment of committee rules and structures.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The survey reveals a lower skill level with rule comprehension than has been NDI's practical experience. There exists a good working knowledge of not only the Namibian parliamentary rules, but also of other parliaments across the globe, especially the commonwealth. This knowledge is centralized with a core group of parliamentary staff that that includes the legal divisions, directors and committee clerks.

Proficiency with rules of procedure is a specialized skill and remains with the core group of parliamentary staff. When presented with the statements, "I understand the Standing Rules and Orders" and "I understand the Committee Rules," **68 percent** of staff agreed. That **68 percent** represents a minimum of **21 staff** members. The low percentage reflected by the responses to the statement, "I understand the protocols of the Parliament" may be the result of the vague term "protocols."

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing the Establishment of Committees including Ad hoc and Special Committees

NDI's programming addressing the committee structure of Parliament can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

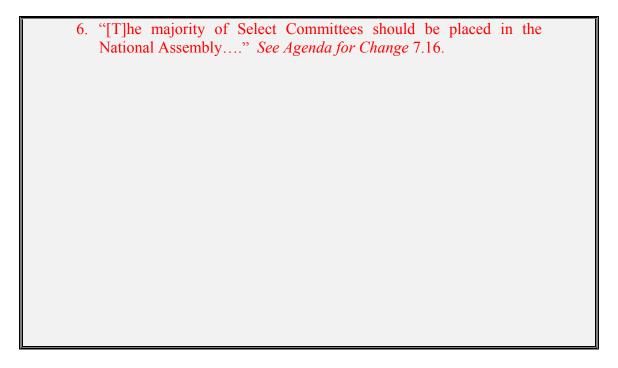
Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing the Establishment of Committees including Ad hoc and Special Committees

- 1. Both Houses are currently revising their standing rules and orders. NDI can assist this process through continued technical advice and comparative research.
- 2. NDI can assist in the publication of the standing rules and orders once adopted.
- 3. NDI can provide workshops for Parliament staff, by Parliament staff, to improve, propagate and perpetuate rules comprehension.
- 4. NDI can draft and workshop a guide for committee clerks and committee Chairpersons.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing the Establishment of Committees including Ad hoc and Special Committees

Parliament has incorporated the recommendations on standing/select, ad hoc and special committees.

- 3. "[T]he PAC and Ombudsman Committee should consist of nine members; other Select Committees should normally have six members; and members, especially minority party members, should be able to sit on more than one committee." See Agenda for Change 6.14 (a)(b) and (c). "The proposals for the reduction of membership to committees is, in principle, supported but it is the feeling of this committee that a flexible application of such proposals should preferably be adopted." See Report of the Joint Select Committee on Agenda for Change at 5.
- 4. "[T]he Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairman of the National Council should have the final say on who sits on which committee." *See Agenda for Change* 6.23.
- 5. "[O]pposition members should chair the more important committees..." See Agenda for Change 6.24.



Discussion on Committee Membership

There are 10 committees in the National Assembly and 7 in the National Council. The standing rules and orders of both houses of Parliament determine the number of Members on each committee. These rules are flexible for most committees providing for a minimum of six members, but not setting a maximum.

Opposition party Members are allowed to sit on multiple committees. In the National Assembly there are only 32 backbenchers, therefore they have to sit on more than one committee. Currently, the National Council has no Ministers or Deputy Ministers. However, in the past, the President has appointed Members of the National Council to be Deputy Ministers.

The membership of committees is determined by the parties in the National Assembly with "due regard to the principle of proportionality" which includes parties and gender as defined by the Standing Rules and Orders and committee rules of procedure. Membership of committees in the National Council is determined by the Standing Rules and Orders Committee which is itself appointed by the Committee of the Whole House.

The Public Accounts Committees of the National Assembly and National Council are chaired by a Member of the opposition. This is based on Commonwealth tradition only, and has not been codified in any statute or rule. NDI is not aware of any discussions that would allow for the chairing of other important committees by Members of the opposition. However, based on a particular MP's expertise, opposition Members of the National Assembly have chaired other committees.

In conjunction with NDI programming on the establishment of committees including ad hoc and special committees, NDI programming on committee membership has included

continual technical advice and comparative research on the standing rules and orders. Again, NDI has assisted the development of Parliament's committee membership through study missions and attachments for Members of Parliament, Committee Chairpersons, and staff. Workshops and seminars by NDI have included resources persons from other countries to guide the establishment of committee membership.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Committee Membership NDI's programming addressing the membership of committees can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Committee Membership
As mentioned previously, both houses of Parliament are currently revising their standing rules and orders. NDI assistance in this process through continued technical advice and comparative research is equally relevant here.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Committee Membership

- 1. The recommended number of members per committee has been incorporated by Parliament.
- 2. The recommendation that the majority of be placed in the National Assembly has been incorporated by Parliament.
- 3. The recommendation that the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairman of the National Council should have the *final* say on who sits on what committee has been rejected by Parliament.
- 4. Other than the PAC, the recommendation that the opposition should chair the more important committees has been mostly rejected by Parliament.

Discussion on Joint Committees

Currently, there are provisions in the standing rules and orders of both houses for joint committees. The Parliamentary infrastructure necessary for the successful operation of joint committees is in place. However, currently there is no 'champion' for the institution of joint committees. This is in part due to the National Council wanting to assert itself as an independent house of Parliament, and remove itself from the shadow of the National Assembly.

There are examples of some successful attempts at joint committees such as the previously mentioned joint Budget Committee. However, due to a lack of a joint calendar, uneven schedules and a lack of political will, this joint Budget Committee was not reconstituted this year. Another example of a joint 'committee' was the committee formed by the two houses to resolve differences on the Communal Land Bill. However, this was a *party* committee formed from Members of both houses, and not a parliamentary committee.

NDI has attempted to address this recommendation of the Agenda for Change indirectly through study missions, attachments, induction orientation programs and workshops. Additionally, NDI continuously attempts to run joint workshops involving both houses.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Joint Committees

There is not an ongoing NDI program specifically addressing this recommendation to sustain beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Joint Committees
Although there is no ongoing program to sustain, NDI will continue to stress joint participation in all remaining programming.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Joint Committees

Joint committees remain an unincorporated recommendation of the Agenda for Change.

ii. Committee Functions

8. "These Committees should have powers to examine any relevant legislation introduced into Parliament as well as government policies and decisions." *See Agenda for Change* A4.

Discussion on Committee Functions

This one sentence recommendation of the Agenda for Change captures the essence of a legislature. This recommendation is the core function of committees in any parliament.

Through the standing rules and orders, committees in both houses technically have the power to examine legislation. This power is derived from Articles 59, 63 and 74 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. However, as a practical matter, the examination of legislation, policies and decisions of government in committees is limited due to time pressures, financial constraints, and sparse legislative skills. Additionally, intraparty loyalty restricts actual oversight of committees. This is further exacerbated by the fact bills are automatically referred to the Committee of the Whole House and not to a standing committee unless a majority of the Whole House votes for such a referral. Therefore, oversight is infrequently practiced.

There are examples of legislation, such as the Education Bill, the Rape Bill, the Diamond Bill and Communal Land Bill, that have received extensive public hearing and input by committees—even grassroots through regional committee hearings. There are other examples of legislation, such as the National Budget, that receive limited input from each house and are not referred to committee. Strictly construed, this recommendation of the Agenda for Change is fulfilled, but only as a technical matter by inclusion in the standing rules and orders. However, despite NDI's vast programming, it is not practiced consistently due to political sensitivities.

NDI programming addressing committee functions has included: bill analysis workshops; legislative drafting workshops and attachments; the Budget Program; study missions; the induction programs; and legislative research workshops.

NDI has addressed legislative skills with several bill analysis workshops and publications like, *Analyzing Legislation: How to Read Bills Critically* and *How Laws are Made*. These workshops have incorporated the analysis of actual legislation such as the Affirmative Action Bill, the Marriage Equality Bill, and the annual Budget.

However, this programming has been ad hoc and has not been assumed by Parliament. The Parliament is not conducting this training independent of NDI. There has not been another provider for this programming identified with adequate resources (human, financial or otherwise), understanding, or terms of reference.

Bill analysis, bill summarizing and bill drafting are crucial to the operation of Parliament. Successful examination of legislation is dependent upon the comprehension level of each Member of the committee. This means the comprehension level of staff is crucial to the interpretation for Members who rely on staff for advice and input. Therefore, skills involving bill analysis, bill summarizing and bill drafting that enhance staff and Member comprehension are invaluable to successful committee work.

NDI sponsored three lawyers and two Members to a legislative drafting institute in Louisiana, USA. In Namibia's parliamentary history there has been only one private Member bill tabled. However, the demand for drafting skills for private Member bills and for drafting amendments is high.

As a result of the current scarcity of lawyers in Parliament, NDI has funded and guided the Bill Summary Program. The Bill Summary Program is structured around a Memorandum of Understanding between NDI, Parliament and the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC). NDI and Parliament send to the LAC bills agreed upon for summarizing. NDI pays LAC for the service provided. The bill summaries are provided to Members of Parliament, CSOs and other interested parties. The perpetuation of this program is underway. Parliament may, within the remaining period, either absorb this function entirely (assuming they have the full compliment of seven lawyers) or continue the contractual arrangement with the LAC or another provider. Should the latter take place, sufficient financial resources will need to be secured in the Parliament budget to provide for this service.

As for budget analysis skills, it is impossible to underestimate their importance. If nothing else, an independent Parliament must have a mastery of the budget. Oversight of the Executive's proposed budget, hence the purse strings of the Nation, is the most effective way in which Parliament can fulfill its mandate as an effective, independent branch of government.

Through its Budget Program, NDI has addressed budget skills with a series of budget workshops for Members of Parliament. The Ministry of Finance has endorsed, supported and participated in the budget workshops. The Ministry provides human resources to the workshop in the form of the Permanent Secretary and others. The workshops have also been held for key CSOs using Omusema Training & Research Associates. However, the Parliament has not assumed responsibility for these workshops. Providers such as the Ministry of Finance, Bank of Namibia, Standard Bank, IDASA(SA), the National Planning Commission, Omusema, NCCI, NEPRU et al are available to provide such a service. Together, these providers have the human and other resources necessary to carry on the Budget Program.

NDI produced *Understanding the National Budget*, a publication translated into six indigenous languages. Amongst Members, it is the most popular NDI/Namibia publication. This publication will exist in perpetuity. However, publication and budget skills are required to keep *Understanding the National Budget* a living document, revised and updated in the absence of NDI.

NDI study missions have played a large role addressing the functioning of committees. Parliament has been involved in the planning and organizing of these study missions. Each study mission has been designed to address skill development and procedure enhancement through exposure to similar well-functioning bicameral legislatures. These study missions have necessarily been different each time. However, the general organizational process is the same. Parliament also organizes and funds study missions independent of NDI.

Finally, each Induction Program has addressed committee functioning. The Induction Programs have oriented newly elected Members of Parliament on their role as legislators. These programs have addressed parliamentary issues such as: separation of powers,

parliamentary rules and procedures, mechanisms for legislative oversight, the legislative process, the role of political parties in Parliament transparency, ethical conduct and constituency outreach. The programs have included the use of multiple international resource persons.

Parliament can organize Induction Programs independent of NDI. They have sufficient knowledge and experience within the staff to do so. Parliament retains the files from the previous Induction Programs including the terms of reference. Further, Parliament has the sole responsibility for inducting its Members. Finally, Parliament has indicated its financial commitment to maintain the Induction Programs.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The relevant categories from the Parliamentary Secretariat Questionnaire to this discussion are: legislative skills; budget skills; induction program skills; study mission skills; and library and research (library and research skills will be addressed later).

The survey results indicate that staff understanding of the legislative process, and Parliament's role, is high. Only one staff member disagreed with the statement "I understand Parliament's role in making laws." No staff member disagreed with the statement, "I understand how a bill becomes a law." However, bill comprehension skills are lower, with **63 percent** agreeing to the statement: "I understand bills when I read them."

It is interesting to note the difference in the response to statements 2(e) ("I can explain a bill to a colleague.") and 2(h) ("I can explain a bill to an Honorable Member of Parliament."). Both statements involve the explanation of a bill to another person. However, when the receiver of the explanation of the bill is a Member of Parliament, the staff skill level drops 13 percent. This may be explained better by a psychologist, but one theory could be that low bill analysis and legislative language skills result in a lack of confidence which is exacerbated by the presence of a Member.

Clearly not all staff can write a bill summary because specialized skills are required. Nevertheless **40 percent** of staff surveyed agreed they could write a bill summary. This represents **13 staff**. Currently there are only four full time lawyers for both houses.

Although one might expect them to be about even with bill summary skills, drafting skills are low. The **28 percent** who agreed with the statement, "I can write a bill or an amendment," represent 9 staff members. Still, this is more than double the number of lawyers in the two houses.

Budget comprehension is good among staff. Few participants disagreed with the statements in this category, but the number that responded as "not sure" is higher than in other categories. To the statement, "I know Parliament's role in approving and reviewing the budget," **77 percent** of staff agreed. When contrasted with the **97 percent** who agreed with the statement, "I understand Parliament's role in making laws," this indicates Parliament's role with the budget is not understood as well as its role with other

legislation. Only **23 percent** agreed with statement 8 (b), "I can write a budget guide", indicating a need to improve skills to disseminate information on the budget.

The results of the Secretariat Questionnaire on study missions reveals a sustained skill level. This is a specialized skill with even the lowest percentage (39 percent) still representing 12 staff which should be sufficient to sustain study missions.

The survey reveals a lower skill level on induction programs than exists. Induction programs require exceptional organizational skill. Even the lowest percentage in 12 (c) (at **45 percent**) represents **14 staff**. The induction programs have been well documented, included a high level of participation of staff at Parliament and were conducted with an eye toward sustainability. The staff involved in the four inductions remains employed with Parliament.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

Sustaining the Budget Program is essential. Amongst Members, budget workshops, the Bill Summary Program and bill analysis all rank in the top five most important programs. More specifically, budget workshops tied for first, bill analysis workshops ranked third, and the Bill Summary Program tied for fourth. Additionally, the most important publication amongst Members of Parliament was *Understanding the National Budget*.

All four of these ranked in the top five programs Members felt should be transferred to Parliament, and should be paid for by Parliament. It should be noted that a few Members felt it would be more appropriate for budget workshops to be housed and funded by institutions outside of Parliament to insure objectivity.

NDI's induction programs were the most well attended NDI programs among Members participating in the survey. Further, the induction programs are cited second only to computer training as the "most useful" of NDI programs attended by Members of Parliament. In the ranking of programs by Members, induction programs rank first (tied with bill analysis and budget workshops) as the "most important" programs to the Members of Parliament.

Conclusions on NDI Programming Addressing Committee Functions

- 1. The Bill Analysis Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 2. The Bill Summary Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 3. The Legislative Drafting Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 4. The Budget Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 5. Study mission skills can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 6. Induction Programs are currently sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategies to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Committee Functions

- 1. The Legislative Drafting Program can be combined with the Bill Analysis Program.
 - a. A provider to sustain the Bill Analysis Program (including legislative drafting training) must be identified. Candidates include: The University of Namibia, the Legal Assistance Centre and the Parliament legal counsel. However, the Program Advisory Committee expressed great reservation concerning the capacity of UNAM to participate meaningfully in sustaining Parliamentary programming. Therefore, the Parliament legal divisions will need to drive the program with the LAC potentially playing a supporting role.
 - b. Terms of reference for the program will need to be determined including a schedule for how often various training would be held.
 - c. Responsibility for the Program will need to be assumed by the provider.
 - d. Parliament will have to commit financially to the Program.
- 2. The Bill Summary Program can be sustained either by Parliament absorbing the programming within its own legal divisions or by continuing to contract out to a provider such as the LAC for summaries. If the latter, finances will have to be dedicated for this program, as NDI now pays the entirety.
- 3. A provider (essentially a coordinator), preferably pro-bono, must be identified to sustain the Budget Program. Candidates include the NCCI, Bank of Namibia and Standard Bank.
 - a. The coordinator must develop terms of reference and a schedule for budget workshops.
 - b. Other providers will need to be mobilized to develop a network of resource persons for the budget workshops.
 - c. Responsibility for the Program will need to be transferred.
 - d. Funding will need to be identified.
- 4. NDI can publish a general manual on study missions. This publication would be a valuable tool for the Namibian Parliament. Further, two study missions remain outstanding (one for each House). The organization of these study missions can continue to incorporate Parliamentary staff to bolster their skills.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Committee Function Technically, Parliament has incorporated this recommendation.

9. "Whenever the Government decides that extensive pre-legislative consultation is required, that process should take place within the Parliamentary framework, either by being undertaken by the relevant Select Committee itself, or where this is not appropriate, by making the full report of the consultative body, including minutes and evidence, available to the Select Committee when the bill in question comes before it." See Agenda for Change 6.8(e). See also Agenda for Change 6.28. "The role of Regional Councils in giving advice to ministries and being involved in their consultative processes should be fully recognized to strengthen the role of the National Council and improve the information available to ministries." See Agenda for Change B7.

Discussion on Pre-legislative Consultation

Occasionally, as with the Education Bill and the Abortion Bill, extensive pre-legislative consultation is undertaken in conjunction with an appropriate committee or certain Members of Parliament. However, this is not the general practice, and it is not the practice envisioned in this recommendation in the Agenda for Change. Currently, Parliamentary committees become aware of any pre-legislative consultations that have taken place outside the framework of Parliament when the Minister motivates the bill tabled in the National Assembly. The recommendation envisions consultation prior to the tabling of an actual bill.

Further, Ministries do not provide to either house their research, minutes of meetings, or evidence despite the commitment of the Prime Minister to the Committee of the Whole House of the National Assembly in 1997 to do so. However, recently, the Ministry of Justice has offered their research reports to Parliament for publication on the Information Management System.

NDI has addressed this recommendation of the Agenda for Change through study missions, attachments and workshops. NDI has also provided technical support and comparative research on this topic.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Pre-legislative Consultation
NDI programming addressing pre-legislative consultation can be sustained beyond the
life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Pre-legislative Consultation

- 1. NDI can continue to assist the standing rules and orders amendment process through technical advice and comparative research. This can result in the codification of this recommendation potentially making further programming unnecessary.
- 2. NDI can facilitate the incorporation of the information provided by the Ministry of Justice on the IMS.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Pre-legislative Consultation

This recommendation remains unincorporated by Parliament.

10. "Select Committees in both chambers should have powers to summon Ministers as well as senior officials to give evidence before them, as well as to require access to official documents and data and to take evidence from external experts, individuals, community representatives and others who may be affected by a bill's proposals." *See Agenda for Change* 6.8(f).

Discussion on Committee Summons Power

This recommendation provides for a tool—a summons. However, the recommendation also implies legislative oversight of a confrontational nature.

Committees in the National Assembly and National Council have the power via the Powers, Privileges and Immunities Act of 1996 to summons Ministers, evidence, and other people to their hearings. However, not one summons has ever been issued by a committee. It cannot be said that this is due to the harmonious relationship between Parliament and the Executive, but rather due to intraparty loyalty. It is this intraparty loyalty that can thwart efforts at committee oversight.

NDI programming addressing this recommendation includes standing rules and orders workshops. NDI has also provided technical advice and comparative research on the summons power of parliamentary committees.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Committee Summons Power

The technical capacity for committees to summons is present, and therefore there is no need to sustain any NDI programming beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. However, NDI programming on the implied power to conduct legislative oversight can be bolstered in the remaining period of the grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Legislative Oversight

In the remaining period, NDI can conduct a seminar on legislative oversight to provide a forum for practicing oversight using a hypothetical situation. This can result in the identification of issues and processes that need to be addressed and refined. This may not result in a sustained legislative oversight, but can provide a foundation from which Parliament can build.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Committee Summons Power

Technically, this recommendation has been incorporated by the Parliament.

11. The government should be required to reply to the reports of the PAC and Ombudsman Committees within two months. Also, time for debate on a Select Committee's report allocated and the relevant Ministry should reply to the debate. See Agenda for Change 6.29

Discussion on Government Replies to Committee Reports

Currently there is no rule in either house requiring the executive to respond to any report of any committee within any period. Also, there are no rules providing for mandatory time for debate on any report of any committee in either house. The committee rules of procedure for the National Assembly do require the Committee of the Whole House to "consider" committee reports when they are tabled, but no definition of "consider" is provided.

This can be addressed with the revision of the standing rules and orders of both houses. In this effort, NDI continues its support with technical advice and comparative research. As with other technical aspects of parliamentary processes, study missions have addressed this recommendation. Also, standing rules and orders workshops have included government replies to committee reports.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Government Replies to Committee Reports NDI programming addressing government replies to committee reports can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

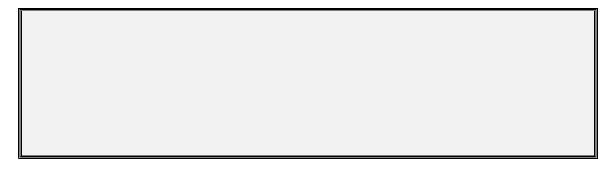
Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Government Replies to Committee Reports

NDI can assist this process through continued technical advice and comparative research on the amendment of the standing rules and orders. This can result an amendment to the standing rules and orders requiring Ministries to reply to the reports of committees and mandating time for debate on committee reports.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Government Replies to Committee Reports

This recommendation is unincorporated by Parliament.

12. "Ministries introducing bills into the National Assembly should firstly be obliged to provide copies of bills at least 10-12 days before they are to be read and secondly, to provide full commentaries on those bills for use by members. These commentaries should [be] set out in simple terms the objectives of the bill and the means and resources by which they are to be achieved." *See Agenda for Change* 7.14.



Discussion on Bill Commentaries from Ministries

Despite the commitment of the Prime Minister to the Committee of the Whole House of the National Assembly in 1997, this recommendation has not yet been institutionalized. Currently, there is no standing rule or order requiring it. However, it has been proposed that the National Assembly Standing Rules and Orders be amended to make this recommendation a requirement of a Ministry before tabling a bill.

The Bill Summary Program previously mentioned provides bill summaries to Members of Parliament, CSOs, and the public. Thus far, however, the bill summary program has not included the Ministries as participants.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Bill Commentaries from Ministries NDI programming addressing bill commentaries from Ministries can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Bill Commentaries from Ministries

- 1. Sustain the Bill Summary Program either within Parliament itself or through a provider outside Parliament.
- 2. NDI can continue to assist the standing rules and orders amendment process through technical advice and comparative research. This can result in the codification of the recommendation thereby making the Bill Summary Program unnecessary or supplementary to that provided by the Ministries.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Bill Commentaries from Ministries

This recommendation is currently unincorporated by Parliament.

13. "Parliamentarians fail to use P[arliamentary] Q[uestions] as effectively as their counterparts in more developed parliamentary systems." *See Agenda for Change* 7.27.

Discussion on Parliamentary Questions

Parliamentary Questions are used frequently by Parliament. They are, in fact, a regular part of Parliament's schedule. Opposition Members utilize Parliamentary Questions to

conduct oversight that is otherwise thwarted by intra-party loyalty. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) also utilize Parliamentary Questions via Members of Parliament to explore areas of interest. However, the answers to the Questions are sometimes vague, and the questioner is left without recourse.

NDI programming has included comparative research on other parliamentary practices. Also, the study mission to Ghana addressed Parliamentary Questions. Further, bill analysis workshops have included topics on Parliamentary Questions.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

Honorable Pohamba indicated that Parliamentary Questions of opposition Members have helped increase accountability. He indicated government's knowledge of itself has increased because it is pushed by opposition Parliamentary Questions to discover more than it may have without the Questions.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Parliamentary Questions
NDI programming on this recommendation is sustained beyond the life of the
Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Parliamentary Questions

Parliament has incorporated the use of Parliamentary Questions.

14. "Provision should be made within the time tabling of parliamentary sessions for the operation of these permanent Committees." *See Agenda for Change* A5.

Discussion on the Allocation of Time for Committee Work

Time is allocated for the operation of the committees in both Houses. Efforts are continually made to adjust the parliamentary schedule to accommodate the work of committees. The National Assembly amended its standing rules and orders to allow committees to meet when the house is not in session.

NDI programming has included technical advice and comparative research on parliamentary practices. Further, study missions and attachments have addressed this recommendation. Workshops on standing rules and orders and the Induction programs have included this topic. Also, necessity has been the mother of invention for this recommendation.

The IMS will have a great impact on the allocation of time for committee work by making scheduling more efficient. The IMS cannot give more time, but it can save time otherwise wasted. The IMS is capable of keeping a global diary for individuals and committees. Conflicting hearings, meetings, sessions and workshops will be revealed instantly by the IMS thereby avoiding time consuming and costly errors.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing the Allocation of Time for Committee Work Conclusion

NDI programming addressing the allocation of time for committee work can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing the Allocation of Time for Committee Work

NDI can solidify the role of the IMS in Parliament by sustaining the Parliamentary Information Communication Technology (PICT) training (to be discussed in more detail later).

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing the Allocation of Time for Committee Work

This recommendation has been incorporated by Parliament.

15. "A Select Committee of the Regions should be set up within the National Council to examine the regional aspects of any ministry's policies or practice." *See Agenda for Change* A6.

Discussion on Select Committee of the Regions

The National Council has established the Committee on Regional Developments and Reports. This committee liaises with the Association of Regional Councils (ARC) and the Association of Local Authorities (ALAN) in Namibia.

As with other committees, NDI has provided programming including technical support, comparative research, study missions and attachments. NDI has conducted extensive programming addressing the dual role of the National Council as house of review and representative of the regions. This will be discussed in the fourth recommendation in The Work of the Two Chambers section.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Committee of the Regions
NDI programming addressing the Committee on Regional Developments and Reports can
be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Committee of the Regions

- 1. NDI can develop, distribute and workshop the constituency outreach publication.
- 2. NDI can develop, distribute and workshop a guide for committee Chairpersons and committee clerks.
- 3. NDI can continue to assist through technical advice and comparative research.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Committee of the Regions The National Council has incorporated this recommendation.

- 16. "Select Committees should normally take evidence in public, but prepare their reports in private." *See Agenda for Change* A7.
- 17. "Committee reports should be publicly available, together with the minutes of evidence, once they have been presented to Parliament." *See Agenda for Change* A8.

Discussion on Committee Evidence and Reports

It is the practice of committees in both houses to take evidence in public and prepare their reports in private. In both houses, committee hearings are open to the public with the exception of the Standing Rules and Orders Committee and the Committee of Privileges. Further, committee reports are publicly available once tabled in both houses.

NDI programming has included technical advice and comparative research on the varied parliamentary practices. Further, these recommendations have been addressed indirectly through study missions and attachments for Members of Parliament, Committee Chairpersons, and staff. NDI workshops on standing rules and orders have included resources persons from neighboring countries to standardize these practices.

The IMS (to be discussed later) will have a tremendous impact on these recommendations. Committee reports and minutes of evidence will be available on the Parliament's web site likely before they are available in hard copy. They will be available instantly in the regions with no postal or faxing costs. Further, citizens in the regions will be able to provide input to Parliament on these reports as instantly as they received them.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Committee Evidence and Reports
NDI programming addressing these recommendations can be sustained beyond the life of
the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Committee Evidence and Reports

- 1. NDI can continue to assist with the revisions to the standing rules and orders of both houses through technical advice and comparative research.
- 2. NDI can solidify the role of the IMS in Parliament by sustaining the PICT (to be discussed in more detail later).

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Committee Evidence and Reports

Both recommendations have been incorporated by Parliament.

iii. Committee Policy

18. "[M]inisters should not sit on committees under the revised structure." See Agenda for Change 6.11. See also Agenda for Change 4.12 (g).

Discussion on Ministers and Committee Membership

Ministers, by tradition only, are currently not allowed to sit on committees in either House. This tradition is not codified by statute or rule. Currently, there is a reluctance to raise the issue of codification of this tradition for fear that it may 'stir the pot', and it is better to 'leave well enough alone.'

The Parliament and Executive understand the implications of the tradition. The tradition is beneficial to the Executive because it allows Ministers and Deputy Ministers more time to dedicate to their Ministries rather than being obligated to committee work. For the 32 backbenchers of the National Assembly, preserving the tradition means they must sit on multiple committees to keep the committees operating.

It could be argued that it would be better if this tradition were codified in some manner either by statute or rule. However, statutes and rules do not necessarily provide more stability than tradition.

NDI study missions to the USA, India, and Malaysia have addressed this recommendation. Further, NDI has provided comparative research and prepared a discussion paper for the National Assembly Committee on Standing Rules and Orders which included this issue.

Parliament is aware that this is an issue. Further, Parliament is equipped to codify this tradition either by rule or statute when and if the time comes.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Ministers and Committee Membership NDI programming addressing this recommendation is sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Ministers and Committee Membership

Parliament has incorporated this recommendation by tradition only.

19. "The work of Parliamentarians on committees should attract allowances." *See Agenda for Change* A9.

Discussion on Allowances for Committee Work
Committee work in both Houses attracts allowances.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Allowances for Committee Work This recommendation has not been the subject of NDI programming.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Allowances for Committee Work Parliament has incorporated the recommendation for allowances.

20. "Select Committees should, whenever possible, develop a bipartisan approach to their work." *See Agenda for Change* A3.

Discussion on Bipartisanship in Committees

Committees have developed a bipartisan approach to their work. Members practice a bipartisan approach in committees by reaching consensus before reporting a bill back to the Committee of the Whole House. This is especially true of the Standing Rules and Orders Committees of both houses because they are comprised of membership from every party represented in Parliament. Although NDI consistently offers its training for all parties and normally succeeds in securing a proportional attendance at workshops, bipartisan participation has not specifically been the subject of any ongoing NDI programming.

Conclusion on NDI Programs Addressing Bipartisanship in Committees
Although there is no specific ongoing program addressing this recommendation, all NDI programs emphasize the need for consensus.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Bipartisanship in Committees

This recommendation is incorporated by Parliament based on international parliamentary norms.

B. The Work of the Two Chambers

There are five recommendations concerning the work of the two chambers made in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed these five recommendations of the Agenda for Change through implementation of seventeen programs and publications as outlined in the chart below.

CHART 2: NDI PROGRAMS TO DATE ON THE WORK OF THE TWO CHAMBERS

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	Indonesia Study Mission Roundtable—NC	8 December 2000
2	Budget Workshop—NC	4-5 December 2000
3	IMS TrainingNC	4 December 2000

4	Indonesia Study Mission—NC	16-25 November 2000
5	National Council National Conference	October 2000
6	Project Bill Summary Training Workshop—NA/NC	22-25 August 2000
7	Louisiana Study Mission Report Back Session	18 July 2000
8	The Regional SurveyNC	29 June 2000
9	Budget Briefing	22-23 May 2000
10	Regional Budget Workshops, NGO's Regional	13 August-3 September 1999
	Governonrs	
11	Louisiana Legislative Drafting Study Mission	14-15 June 1999
12	Budget Briefing	12 April 1999
13	Understanding the National Budget	19 November 1997
14	Analyzing Legislation: Reading Bills Critically	June 1997
15	A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet	June 2001
16	How Laws are Made	1996
17	The Debate	1997 and continuing

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

1. "Members of the National Assembly should develop specialties in line with their committee duties to develop a complementary role to the territorial role of National Council members." *See Agenda for Change* B1.

Discussion on Member Specialty Development

Members' specialty development has been a slow process. It is recognized that currently the diversity of academic and private sector skills brought to Parliament by Members is limited.

In a sense, due to attrition, this can not necessarily ever be sustained in any legislative institution. The inherent transitory nature of politicians makes the specialty skills of staff (especially the research division) and the willingness of committees to seek input outside the walls of Parliament all the more critical.

The Presiding Officers of Parliament encourage Members to improve their skills. Members frequently attend short-term courses, participate in study missions, conferences, and delegations.

NDI has held seminars to improve professional and legislative skills including the Induction Programs. This has also been addressed via study missions, attachments,

comparative research and workshops. The Budget Program is one example of an ongoing effort at improving expertise—and the most important.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Member Specialty Skills
Specialty skills development programs such as the Budget Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. Induction Programs are sustained

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Member Specialty Skills

- 1. Sustain the Budget Program as outlined above.
- 2. Two study missions for Members of Parliament remain (one for each house). NDI canuse these study missions to increase specialty development on at least one topic.
- 3. Two staff attachments remain (to include staff from each house). NDI can use these attachments to increase staff specialty development on at least one topic.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Member Specialty Skills This recommendation remains unincorporated by Parliament but is constantly addressed.

2. "Members of Parliament should make greater use of existing powers to initiate Private Member bills and develop the independent role of Parliament." *See Agenda for Change* B2.

Discussion on Private Member Bills

Only one private Member bill has ever been tabled, and none have been enacted. There is a great desire on the part of Members to be able to not only table private Member bills, but also have greater skills at amendment drafting.

Parliament has not established a formal process for private Member bills. Currently, Ministries initiate bills. The Ministry of Justice drafts the bills and also drafts any amendments to bills once they are tabled. Parliament's attorneys, though trained to draft legislation in Louisiana, USA, do not have experience drafting legislation and amendments. NDI has addressed this recommendation through study missions, attachments and workshops.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Private Member Bills
NDI programming addressing this recommendation can be sustained beyond the
life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Private Member Bills
NDI can conduct a workshop to impart knowledge to Members on drafting private
Member bills and amendments. To sustain this effort, a component of this workshop can
be the institutionalization of a process for private Member bills coordinating the
resources of both Parliament and the Ministry of Justice.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Private Member Bills This recommendation is currently unincorporated by Parliament.

3. "Parliament itself should be made more open to the public so that members of the public can feel more confident about consulting and lobbying members." *See Agenda for Change* B3.

Disscussion on Parliament Openness

Parliament itself is open to the public. Both Houses of Parliament have galleries open to the public. The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) broadcasts from Parliament. Katutura Community Radio (KCR), through NDI, has been designated space in Parliament. The media is invited to public meetings and hearings. There are few closed committee hearings. The Parliament has conducted numerous public hearings in the regions.

With the launch of the IMS all rules, acts, bills, reports and minutes will eventually be on the web. The public will be able to make comments on pending legislation through the web and computers have been placed in the regions for this purpose.

NDI programming has also included workshops on standing rules and orders, study missions and attachments. These have provided examples and technical advice on rules and procedures for ensuring the openness of Parliament.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Parliament Openness
NDI programming addressing this recommendation can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Parliament Openness

- 1. NDI can continue its technical advice and comparative research on the standing rules and orders revisions currently underway.
- 2. The remaining study missions and staff attachments can address processes that encourage the openness of Parliament.
- 3. NDI can conduct extensive PICT training in the regions, with civil society and in Parliament to sustain constituency outreach and public input through the IMS. (This will be discussed in more detail later).

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Parliament Openness This recommendation is nearly incorporated by Parliament.

4. "The dual role of the National Council as the chamber of legislative review and representative of the regions should be made more explicit." *See Agenda for Change* B4.

Discussion on the Dual Role of the National Council

The National Council is strategically positioned to facilitate communication and information sharing between national government and the regions, including local and traditional authorities. The National Council has amended its standing rules and orders to reflect this need.

NDI has worked with the National Council and the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing to identify mechanisms to enhance the National Council's role as facilitator of communication and liason between National, Regional and Local government. Through a comprehensive nation-wide survey, NDI assisted the National Council to identify challenges for inter-governmental relations in Namibia and the opportunities and potential that exists.

NDI has provided technical assistance to facilitate and strengthen the participation of regional councils in the country's legislative process. NDI, together with the National Council and the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing, developed terms of reference for an audit to determine the level of regional capacity, infrastructure and skill levels. The information collected has been used to guide NDI's programs with the regional councils and to develop strategies to improve and strengthen regional and public participation in the country's legislative process and the National Council in particular.

The regional audits were followed up with a series of regional workshops attended by CSOs, regional councilors, local authorities, and traditional authorities. This process culminated in the National Council conference. This conference provided a forum for representatives from both houses of Parliament, civil society, government and traditional authorities to develop a national strategy to enhance communication between elected representatives and their constituents.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing the Dual Role of the National Council

NDI programming addressing the dual role of the National Council can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing the Dual Role of the National Council

- 1. NDI can assist the National Council to amend its standing rules and orders to mandate six trips per year by Members of the National Council to their respective regions.
- 2. NDI can sponsor workshops to discuss amendments increasing the National Council's check on government and the Auditor General.

3. The remaining study mission for the National Council can emphasize the dual role of the house.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing the Dual Role of the National Council

Parliament is incorporating this recommendation of the Agenda for Change.

5. "Offices should be established for National Council members at the Regional Council offices so that the public can contact their representatives more easily." See Agenda for Change B6.

Discussion on Regional Offices for National Council Members

Offices are established in some regions. This effort has been taken up by the Ministry of Regional and Local Government Housing. Twenty percent of the Development Budget is set aside for this purpose. The offices are staffed and are equipped with computers. This is where NDI programming can address this recommendation. The regional offices will soon have instant access to Parliament via the IMS. Submissions will then be possible from the regions on pending bills and issues.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Regional Offices for National Council Members

NDI programming can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Regional Offices for National Council Members

As mentioned previously, NDI can conduct extensive PICT training in the regions, with civil society and in Parliament to sustain constituency outreach and public input through the IMS. (This will be discussed in more detail later).

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Regional Offices for National Council Members

This recommendation is not yet incorporated by Parliament.

C. Information, Research and Policy Analysis

There are four recommendations concerning information, research and policy analysis made in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed these four recommendations of the Agenda for Change through implementation of twenty-nine programs and publications as outlined in the chart below.

CHART 3: NDI INFORMATION, RESEARCH AND POLICY ANALYSIS PROGRAMS TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	Indonesia Study Mission RoundtableNC	8 December 2000
2	National Council Computer Training	4 December 2000
3	IMS Capacity Training for National Assembly MPs	28 November 2000
4	Indonesia Study Mission, NC Comm. Chairs	16-25 November 2000
5	Study Mission to South Africa—NA/NC	25-30 September 2000
6	Workshop for Parliamentary Library, Research and	22-24 September 2000
	Information and Computer Services	
7	Bill Summary Training Workshop	22-25 August 2000
8	Management WorkshopsNA	2-17 August 2000
9	Computer Skills Assessment—NA/NC	August 2000
10	IMS Workshop for DirectorsNA/NC	July 2000
11	Roundtable to Clarify Staff Roles and Responsibilities—	20 June 2000
	NA/NC	
12	IMS Concept Workshop for IT Committee—NA/NC	June 2000
13	Management Systems Implementation Workshop	29-31 May 2000
14	Legislative Skills Training Workshop—NA/NC	22-23 May 2000
15	Management Training Workshops—NA/NC	22-31 May 2000
16	Research, Analysis, and Report Writing Workshop—	13-14 May 2000
	NA/NC	
17	Research and Report Writing Skills Development	10-11 April 2000
18	Workshop for National Council Table Office Clerks	14 December 2000
19	Comparative Legal Research and Analysis	3 December 1999
20	Management Training for the NA Module D	17-19 November 1999
21	Legislative Research and Report Writing Workshop—	7 June 1999
	NA/NC	
22	Management Training for the NA Modules A through C	20 January—3 September
22	W. Lill C. A. NIANG	1999
23	Kenya Library Conference—NA/NC	July 1998
24	Legal Drafting CourseNA	June 1998
25	English Writing Workshop—NA/NC	April 1998
26	Photography Workshop—NA/NC	March 1998
27	Publishing Management Consultative Forum—NA/NC	February 1998
28	Research Training—NA/NC	October 1996
29	Study Mission for Information Managers—NA/NC	March 1996

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

1. "Parliament should establish an effective, integrated and pro-active information, research and policy analysis service for both chambers...under the command of a highly-skilled chief research and policy analysis official to secure a pro-active service." *See Agenda for Change* CI and C5.



Discussion on Information, Research and Policy Analysis Service
Information, research and policy analysis remains relatively untapped. Recently,
Parliament has employed a new Deputy Director in this division. However, the Director
position has been vacant since the inception of Parliament. And during the preparation of
this assessment, the newly hired Deputy Director has resigned.

NDI-sponsored research training through Dr. Beth Terry continues its attempt to improve research skills, and define research responsibilities between the research division and committee clerks

NDI has also conducted some internet research training for Parliament staff introducing the new *Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet*. Staff were asked to research a specific topic using only the internet and the *Guide* and give (using Power Point™) a presentation based on the research. This internet research training will place vast amounts of information at the fingertips of Members, staff, civil society and the regions. Further, the IMS will greatly increase the efficiency of Parliament staff in coordinating their research efforts.

NDI in conjunction with the Information and Research Division of Parliament has produced numerous publications over the last seven years. This division currently publishes *The Debate* (the official bi-annual publication of the Parliament) and will likely be the division to produce future publications. Historically publications have been NDI's domain, with Parliament providing input on content, but less involved in the mechanics of production.

Supporting Data from the Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The Secretariat survey indicates good research skills. Library skills are reported as excellent, but library resources are small. Comparative research skills were rated the lowest at **61 percent**. This **61 percent** still represents **19 staff** who agree they can perform comparative research. This may be enough to provide adequate research for Members of Parliament and the committees. However, this resource seems largely unused by many Members of Parliament.

Internet research skills are reported as high at **83 percent**. Good research will be dependent upon internet skills of a researcher as libraries globally will inevitably play an increasingly smaller and smaller role.

The overall skill level in producing publications is lower than expected including the use of computer technology in this area. This is a specialized skill, however, which may be the cause of the lower result. The lowest level was in response to the statement, "I can use publishing software on a computer," with only **19 percent** agreeing. This represents **6 staff** members. This low result may also be due to recent turnover in the Parliament as at least one staff member familiar with desktop publishing programs has left.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

It is important to note that Members of Parliament stated they not only use publications themselves (some indicating worn copies on the shelf behind them), but also utilize them when in the regions and when speaking to learners at schools.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Information, Research and Policy Analysis Service

NDI programming addressing this recommendation can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Information, Research and Policy Analysis Service

- 1. NDI can continue its research training with Dr. Beth Terry.
- 2. NDI can disseminate and workshop the *Guide for Legislative Research on the Internet* for Parliamentary staff, Members of Parliament, committee Chairpersons, and committee clerks.
- 3. NDI can focus one of the last attachments on legal research.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Information, Research and Policy Analysis Service

This recommendation remains unincorporated.

- 2. "This service should use computer and CD-ROM technology, linked with international data services." *See Agenda for Change* C2.
- 3. "Parliamentary computer systems should be compatible with existing computer services in government, and should be extended to the offices of Regional Councils." *See Agenda for Change* C3.
- 4. "Members of Parliament should eventually be able, using home or portable computers, to have individual access to the information, research and policy analysis service." *See Agenda for Change* C4.

Discussion on Information Management System

NDI programming in this area has been extensive. NDI has funded the purchase and installation of an Information Management System for Parliament. This has included the purchase of hardware, software and the construction of both the internet website and the intranet. NDI's programming assistance in this area has far exceeded the recommendations of the Agenda for Change. The Parliament of the Republic of Namibia was the first African parliament with an intranet system.

The IMS is discussed in this section because these recommendations address technology. However, the IMS is far from simply a research tool. The IMS will directly or indirectly impact the majority of the recommendations in the Agenda for Change. The IMS is proving to be a very cost-effective and tangible way to have lasting impact on both the capacity of the constituency outreach of the Namibian Parliament, and input from the public to the Namibian Parliament.

Currently, some regional offices are equipped with computers. The Regional offices will be linked to the Parliament IMS system. This linking will require intense training in the Regions to make the ideal—direct participation from the Regions in the legislative process through the IMS—a reality. Without training, the computers and IMS will devolve into nothing more than expensive paperweights.

Providing Members have computers of their own, Members will be able (once the IMS is launched) to connect to Parliament at all times. Should Parliament, or a donor organization, provide laptop computers, the Members will have increased access from home, the Regions, or anywhere in the world there is an internet connection. Currently, several Members have home computers and the numbers are increasing.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The Secretariat Questionnaire reveals that computer skills are high amongst staff. Although NDI has trained extensively on computer skills, there has not been a significant amount of money allocated for this purpose. E mail is used by virtually everyone, with **81 percent** using it daily. Most staff, at **83 percent**, uses a word processor to write their letters and reports. Nearly one in two staff can hook up a computer. Computer skill level is not yet high enough to include abilities like installing a new printer, yet **30 percent** (representing **9 staff**) reported they can, in fact, perform that task. The numbers—with **14 staff** capable of hooking up a computer and **9** capable of installing a printer—indicated that enough technical skill is evident to keep any office going until experts arrive. That is, until the Parliament contracted computer support arrives at the door to solve problems. On a side note in the survey, **94 percent** of staff claim access to computers at work, while only **26 percent** have computers at home.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

NDI is credited with introducing Members to the importance of computers in their work as legislators. In response to the question, "Which was the most useful support that NDI has offered," Members cited computer training most frequently. This was true of Members who had personally attended the computer training as well of those who had

not. In the survey, many Members noted the improved staff computer skills as being of great benefit to Parliament.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing the Information Management System NDI programming can partially be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

- 1. Technical services to maintain the IMS are sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant. Parliament has contracted a private firm to provide for the upkeep of the IMS hardware and software.
- 2. NDI programming addressing staff and Members of Parliament PICT skills, including use of the IMS, can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 3. Regional PICT skills can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing the Information Management System

- 1. For lack of a better term, the Parliament and the general public must become "addicted" to the IMS. That is, people must become dependent upon the efficiency offered by the IMS, and the information the IMS provides. If this happens, the IMS will 'sustain' itself. That is, the IMS will become as necessary to the good governance of the Parliament as order paper and the standing rules and orders are today.
- 2. NDI can continue to advise the Parliament IT Committee.
- 3. NDI can continue its practice of training trainers for parliamentary staff PICT training and training in the regions.
- 4. This training of trainers can continue in the context of required PICT training for:
 - a. Parliamentary staff
 - b. Members of Parliament
 - c. Parliament Directors
 - d. Committee Chairpersons
 - e. Committee Clerks
 - f. Regions (including Governors, Regional Executive Officers and stakeholders)
- 5. NDI can build into the IMS an on-line manual for the IMS.
- 6. The outstanding NDI publication *Know Your Parliament* can be completed and placed on-line.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing the Information Management System

Through the IMS, the first two recommendations of the Agenda for Change have been incorporated by Parliament. The last recommendation remains unincorporated by Parliament.

D. Member's Support

There are five recommendations concerning Member's support made in the Agenda for Change. These recommendations are divided into three categories for ease of discussion: secretariat, Members, and ethics. NDI addressed these five recommendations of the Agenda for Change through implementation of eleven programs and publications as outlined in the chart below.

CHART 4: NDI PROGRAMS ON MEMBER'S SUPPORT AND ALLOWANCES TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	Induction IINA	11-15 September 2000
2	Induction INA	22-24 March 2000
3	Legislative Research and Report Writing for MPs—	8 June 1999
	NA/NC	
4	Secretarial Training—NA/NC	September 1998
5	NANGOF Parliamentary Monitoring Program	May 1998
6	Ethics Study Mission to Botswana	November 1997
7	Anti-Corruption Conference in Peru	October 1997
8	Ethics Conference	6-7 June 1997
9	A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet	June 2001
10	How Laws are Made	1996
11	The Debate	1997 and continuing

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

i. Secretariat

1. "Members of both houses should receive office and secretarial assistance for the performance of their public duties." *See Agenda for Change* D1.

Discussion on Parliamentary Staff

Staff numbers have improved. At the beginning of Parliament, the National Assembly had 13 staff and the National Council had five. As of the Agenda for Change in 1995, there was 37 staff in Parliament as a whole. Currently there are 115 staff members for Parliament.

NDI continues to conduct management training for staff of the National Assembly through a local consultant. The National Council has contracted its own management consultant independent of NDI.

The National Assembly management training has spanned almost three years. However, management training is hindered because key positions that have been created (some of them created years ago), remain unfilled (i.e. Director of Research). Other staff have been 'acting' in their positions, awaiting confirmation on some occasions for the duration of their tenure in the position. Further, the pay scale for Parliamentary staff is inadequate to attract the qualified individuals Parliament needs to fulfill its mandate in this regard.

Recently, the National Assembly has formed a staff training committee. NDI has sponsored the tuition for a member of this committee to attend a management conference in Cape Town. This is a positive step toward sustaining management training in the National Assembly.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The only staff skills surveyed not mentioned elsewhere in this assessment are meeting and English skills. Based on the results (the lowest percentage being **87 percent**), it may seem that there is no further need for programming addressing meeting or English skills. However, NDI's practical experience reveals that much work remains to be done to enhance legislative language skills.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

Members of Parliament were asked in Question 12 of the survey: "Do you feel staff skills have been improved because of NDI's programmes?" Members unanimously agreed that NDI programming had improved the staff skill level. Computer skills were singled out for comment by many Members. Several Members noted their heightened confidence in the research skills of Parliament staff particularly with the committee clerks. The Speaker of the National Assembly was careful to add after agreeing that skills were increased: "There is still room for improvement."

Conclusion on NDI Programs Addressing Parliamentary Staff

- 1. NDI programming addressing meeting and English skills is sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 2. NDI sponsored management training in the National Assembly can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 3. Management training in the National Council is sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programs Addressing Parliamentary Staff

- 1. NDI can complete the National Assembly management training and phase out the NDI sponsored consultant.
- 2. NDI can shift its focus in the remaining period to the National Assembly training committee by providing technical advice and sponsoring additional education of members of this committee.

3. NDI can assist to build a link between the National Assembly training committee and government sponsored training at the University of Namibia.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Parliamentary Staff
The recommendation technically has been incorporated by Parliament.

ii. Members

- 2. "Members of both houses should receive more adequate allowances, or free services, which give due weight to their housing and subsistence costs and the travel, telephone and office costs incurred in the performance of their public duties." *See Agenda for Change* D2.
- 3. "Simultaneous translation facilities should be available to ensure that all Members of Parliament can participate fully." *See Agenda for Change* D3.

Discussion on Allowances and Translation Equipment for Members

Members are currently remunerated as described in the recommendation. Additionally, translation equipment and service is provided by each house of Parliament.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Allowances and Translation Equipment for Members

These recommendations have not been the subject of NDI programming.

Conclusion on Status of Recommendations Addressing Alowances and Translation Equipment for Members

Status of Ethics

There is a Code of Conduct for the National Assembly and the National Council is currently drafting one. The National Assembly Code of Conduct is has been revised including the form for Members to declare their financial interests. Also, a process for formalizing the publication of the declarations is being established. However, the National Assembly has not yet set a deadline for the Members to declare their financial interests.

An anti-corruption initiative in Parliament began in 1997. This initiative has culminated recently with the tabling of the Anti-corruption Bill in the National Assembly.

NDI has provided extensive technical advice and comparative research on the Code of Conduct and Declarations Form. Further, study missions, attachments and workshops have addressed ethics in various ways.

Conclusion on NDI Ethics Programming

NDI programming addressing this recommendation is sustainable beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Ethics Programming

- 1. NDI can continue to provide technical advice and comparative research on the Code of Conduct and Declaration Form for the National Assembly.
- 2. NDI can workshop the new Code of Conduct and Form.
- 3. NDI can continue to provide technical advice and comparative research on anticorruption.
- 4. NDI can provide additional anti-corruption support should time allow.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Ethics These recommendations remain unincorporated by Parliament.

E. The Staff Who Serve Parliament

There is one recommendation concerning the staff who serve Parliament made in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed this recommendation of the Agenda for Change through implementation of seven programs.

CHART 5: NDI PROGRAMS TO DATE ADDRESSING STAFF WHO SERVE PARLIAMENT

No.	Program or Publication	Date		
1	Indonesia Study Mission Roundtable—NC	8 December 2000		
2	Indonesia Study Mission—NC	16-25 November 2000		
3	Post-Ghana Study Mission Roundtable 1-3	July 2000		
4	Louisiana, USA Study Mission for Legislative	July 2000		
	Drafting—NA			

5	Ghana Study Mission	12-17 June 2000
6	USA Study Mission—NC	September 1997
7	India and Malaysia Study Mission—NA/NC	December 1996

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

"The staff of Parliament, together with that of the Offices of the Auditor-General and Ombudsman, should be established as the Parliamentary service, independent of the Public Services Commission, so that their scrutiny and investigatory roles are not liable to be compromised." *See Agenda for Change* E1, E2 and E3. "[T]he development thereof should be reviewed as soon as possible. As far as Parliament in particular, is concerned, the autonomy of Parliament, as the legislative branch, must be reflected in the manner in which decisions are made in regard to its internal governance and staff structure and the formulation and presentation of its budget." *See Report of the Joint Select Committee on Agenda for Change at 5*.

Discussion on the Independent Parliamentary Service

These recommendations unequivocally call for the creation of an Independent Parliamentary Service (IPS) separate from the Public Service Commission. Presently, a bill has been drafted that would provide for an IPS. However, it remains a bill and has not been tabled. The IPS, despite the recommendations in the Agenda for Change, is a controversial proposition. It is believed that the creation of an IPS may undermine the Executive's authority and may be more costly than the present system.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The Job Parameters category in the Secretariat Questionnaire relates to sustainability in terms of addressing the increasingly high turnover rate of Parliamentary staff. The turnover rate arguably could be improved by the institution of the IPS.

The statements in the Job Parameters category provided the most controversy in the survey. Many participants were hesitant to answer the questions involving transfer and promotion. Those that expressed concern were reminded of the anonymous nature of the survey and their option not to answer if they so chose. Nearly every participant subsequently responded to all five statements in this category.

The responses to the first two statements in this category, "I understand my job responsibilities" and "I am confident supervising others," indicate confidence with job responsibilities and supervisory skills. No single participant disagreed with either statement.

The responses to the remaining statements in the Job Parameters category could indicate sustained human resources due to only **6 percent** desiring to be transferred to another government agency and **87 percent** seeking a promotion. However, this has not been the practical experience of Parliament. A worrisome trend of Parliamentary staff receiving training and then moving on to other parts of government or private enterprise has plagued Parliament and NDI's efforts to sustain staff skill levels. This trend is frustrating, but not all that uncommon in government anywhere around the globe. It is a global truism that executive branches pay more than legislative ones, and private enterprises pay more than executive branches. The 'bigger fishes' feed on the smaller ones. This is an issue the Parliament needs to address in some manner, but the survey results indicate there is room for optimism with retaining current staff.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

During the course of the interviews, twice Members mentioned the institution of the IPS. On both occasions, the Members advocated that the IPS would improve staff efficiency and stability by providing a career path. The IPS was also a topic of some debate during a recent conference attended by different sectors of Namibian society including Members of Parliament, but few members of the Executive. This is encouraging, and gives some life to this recommendation of the Agenda for Change.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing the Independent Parliamentary Service It is unlikely that this condition will change in the remaining period of the grant, therefore programming addressing these recommendations cannot be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing the Independent Parliamentary Service

This recommendation remains unincorporated by Parliament.

F. The Media

There are two recommendations concerning the media in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed the two recommendations of the Agenda for Change through implementation of eleven programs and publications as outlined in the chart below.

CHART 6: NDI MEDIA PROGRAMS TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	BRICKS Training Modules, NGOs	1997-1998
2	Media Roundtable on the Parliamentary Reporters	1998
	Reference Manual, NGOs	
3	Media Training for Speaker's OfficerNA	28 November 2000
4	Media Training—NA	20 November 2000
5	KCR Skills Sustainability Workshop	11-13 September 2000
6	KCR space in Parliament	September 2000
7	KCR Staff Training	11 August 2000
8	KCR Digital Communication System Training	July 2000

	KCR Community Radio Workshop	18 March 2000
10	BRICKS Workshop on Parliamentary Election Coverage	4-5 November 1999
11	The Parliamentary Reporter's Reference Manual	5 March 2001

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

- 1. "A Broadcasting Unit should be set up within Parliament to enable full coverage of parliamentary debates and proceedings, including committee sessions to be provided by television and radio." *See Agenda for Change* G1.
- 2. "Media reports should contain extracts from the speeches and proceedings of Parliament, suitably and responsibly edited, instead of only providing summarized reports." *See Agenda for Change* G2.

Discussion on Media in Parliament

Currently, Namibia Broadcast Corporation (NBC) broadcasts from within both Chambers of Parliament. Parliament has dedicated facilities to NBC to transmit their broadcasts. NBC in addition to reporting on Parliament, broadcasts some parliamentary sessions live and unedited.

Katutura Community Radio (KCR) has been involved with Parliament in the past. For instance, KCR broadcast a series of interviews with Members of Parliament on a popular show. The Parliament has provided space within the Chamber for community radio and an office for interviews. However, due to recent challenges facing KCR, the space has not yet been occupied.

In addition to its programming with NBC, KCR, NAMWA, and BRICKS, NDI has launched *The Parliamentary Reporter's Reference Manual*. The manual is a good step toward training Members of Parliament on the role of the media in parliamentary governance.

The relationship between Parliament and the media has been somewhat tense, especially where Members of the ruling party are concerned. However, Members of Parliament do understand the value of good, proactive media skills.

Supporting Data from Parliamentary Secretariat Survey

The results of the Secretariat Questionnaire reveal that staff media skills are average. Additional training for parliamentary staff on the media could improve the occasionally tense relationship between Parliament and the media.

Supporting Data from Member Survey

In the survey of Members, media training ranked at the very bottom coming in last in the "programs most important to you" category, last in the "programs that should be transferred to Parliament" category and next to last in the "programs that should be paid for by Parliament" category. This couldn't be more of an indication that this is far from a priority to Members of Parliament. However, it may be equally reflective of animosity toward the Fourth Estate. It could be argued that comprehensive training skills could increase confidence, and exponentially could decrease ill-will toward the press.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Media in Parliament
NDI programming to address media in Parliament can be sustained beyond the life of the
Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Media in Parliament

- 1. NDI can continue to coordinate assistance to KCR to help insure its survival. Depending upon circumstances, this may not be achievable in the remaining period, but is worth the effort as KCR has proven itself a valuable asset to Namibia.
- 2. NDI can workshop media skills for parliamentary staff to bolster their skills.
- 3. In conjunction with this training, NDI could fund, or encourage Parliament's purchase of, media skills resource material and workshop based on that material.
- 4. NDI can workshop the recently launched *Parliamentary Reporter's Reference Manual*.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Media in Parliament Technically, these recommendations have been incorporated.

G. Civil Society

The following recommendation concerning civil society is made in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed this recommendation of the Agenda for Change through implementation of twenty-eight programs and publications as outlined in the chart below.

CHART 7: NDI CIVIL SOCIETY PROGRAMS TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date		
1	Women's Manifesto Network Training of Trainers	10-13 October 2000		
	Workshop			
2	Proposal Writing Workshop for The Rainbow Project	26 October 2000		
3	NGO Week Expo 2000 National Budget Workshop	16-23 October 2000		
4	Focus Group Training Workshop for the Women's	26 September 2000		
	Manifesto Workshop			
5	Workshop for the Namibian Women's Manifesto	19 September 2000		
	Network			

6	The Rainbow Project "Vision" Workshop	23 August 2000			
7	NANGOF Advocacy Workshop	7-11 August 2000			
8	The Regional Surveys	29 June 2000			
9	Civil Society Advocacy March	18 April 2000			
10	Budget Roundtable, NGOs	29 March 2000			
11	Women's Manifesto Network Workshop	11 December 1999			
12	Legislative Skills Workshop—NA/NC	23 November 1999			
13	Legislative Skills Workshop, NGOs	12 November 1999			
14	Committee Clerks Workshop	7 October 1999			
15	NANGOF/NDI Y2K Workshop 7 October 1999				
16	Bill Analysis Workshop	23 July 1999			
17	Budget Briefing	19 May 1999			
18	Orientation Workshop	July 1998			
19	NANGOF Parliamentary Monitoring Program, NGOs	May 1998			
20	NGO Update	April 2000			
21	Budget Workshop for Civil Society	29 March 2000			
22	Regional Budget Workshops	November 1997			
23	Budget Roundtable Discussions, NGOs	June 1997			
24	Budget Awareness Workshop, NGO and MPs April-May 1997				
25	Focus Groups	March 1996			
26	The Debate	1997 and continuing			
27	Understanding the National Budget (including six	19 November 1997			
	translations)				
28	How Laws are Made	1996			

RECOMMENDATION IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

"By creating direct channels of communication with different interest groups in Namibia, Parliament can play an important role in fostering the development of a vibrant civil society." *See Agenda for Change* 8.15.

Discussion on Seven Civil Society Organizations and Parliament
NDI has worked with many CSOs in the last seven years. NDI's work has focused on increasing citizen participation in the legislative process. The CSOs NDI has worked with include, but are not limited to: Namibian Non-Governmental Organization Forum (NANGOF), Women's Manifesto Network (WMN), Katutura Community Radio (KCR), Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), Namibian Media Women's Association (NAMWA), Omusema Training and Associates, Urban Trust Network (UTN), Association of

Regional Councils (ARC), Namibian Camber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI), Namibian National Farmers Union (NNFU), and BRICKS.

NDI has assisted these organizations to articulate the needs of their constituents in the legislative arena. Activities included capacity building for advocacy campaigns, media training, budget advocacy, and gender advocacy.

The IMS has also linked CSOs directly to Parliament. CSOs are able to register with the Parliament IMS to receive announcements posted on the IMS via e mail. Further, CSOs can access the website which provides them with instant access to tabled bills, Acts, rules, and house and committee schedules.

NDI conducted a skills survey of civil society organizations. Seven of nine CSOs completed a skill level questionnaire prepared by NDI. The fact that there were but nine CSOs to put the questionnaire to is perhaps the first result of the survey. There are more than nine CSOs in Namibia, however, CSOs do not exist in great numbers as of yet in Namibia.

Due to the small number of CSOs surveyed, it is not wise to generalize from this assessment about all Namibian civil society. This was not the goal of the survey. The goal was to gain an impression of the effectiveness of NDI's programming with these CSOs and to see where NDI was in the process of capacity building. This assessment concerns the sustainability of these CSOs and their programs only, not civil society in Namibia as a whole.

Supporting Data From Civil Society Survey

Overall advocacy skills are reported as high. The percentages in the "disagree" category are nearly all from a single CSO that reported "strongly disagree" to two-thirds of the statements in this category. It is rather unfortunate that the survey was anonymous because this CSO could be targeted for individual program efforts. On the other hand, if the survey were not anonymous, the CSO may not have reported the low skill level at all.

The results of the survey indicate there is room for improvement with bill summaries and bill workshops. Two interesting contrasts can be made here: first, the skill level for bill summary production and comprehension is higher with CSOs than with parliamentary staff (see Appendix 2: 2 (c) and (f)); and second, all CSOs surveyed reported a **nearly 100 percent** skill level in the workshop category, but in (e) only **33 percent** of CSOs agree they can conduct a workshop on a bill.

CSOs report a very high skill level with the national budget. Not one CSO disagreed with any of the statements in the budget category.

Research skills via the internet or a library are reported as high. The statement "I can write a research report on legislation" in 3 (c) is reported as low. This may be the result of the unclear term: "research report."

Workshop skills are very high. The low skill level reported in 4 (a) can be attributed to the use of the word "programme" rather than "agenda". This was a regrettable word choice.

Proposal and media skills were reported at **100 percent** by all seven CSOs surveyed. Publication skills are also reported as high with these seven CSOs.

Conclusions on NDI Programming Addressing Seven Civil Society Organizations and Parliament

- 1. The CSO Budget Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 2. The Gender Advocacy Program can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 3. Advocacy skills of these seven CSOs can be sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.
- 4. All other skills of the seven CSOs surveyed are sustained beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant.

Strategy to Sustain NDI Programming Addressing Seven Civil Society Organizations and Parliament

- 1. The CSO Budget Program can be sustained in conjunction with the Budget Program for Members of Parliament.
- 2. Gender awareness can be woven into all programs NDI intends to sustain beyond the life of the Consolidation of Democracy grant—particularly in a provider's terns of reference. This includes Parliament programs as well as CSO programming.
- 3. A publication can be produced on advocacy in conjunction with NANGOF to sustain advocacy skills. The publication can subsequently be work-shopped to further bolster advocacy skills.

Status of Recommendations of Agenda for Change Addressing Seven Civil Society Organizations and Parliament

This recommendation has been incorporated by Parliament.

H. The Electoral System

The following recommendation concerning the electoral system is made in the Agenda for Change. NDI addressed this recommendation of the Agenda for Change through implementation of six programs outlined in the chart below.

CHART 8: NDI ELECTIONS PROGRAMS TO DATE

No.	Program or Publication	Date
1	Governance Conference—NA/NC	2001
2	Election web site	1999
3	Election Monitoring in conjunction with NGOs	1999
4	BRICKS/NBC Political Program Elections Coverage	1999

5	Election Study Mission to South Africa	1999
6	Ghana Study Mission	1998

RECOMMENDATION IN THE AGENDA FOR CHANGE

"[T]here should be a debate about changes to the [electoral] system which would provide a balance." *See Agenda for Change* 9.6.

Discussion on Electoral System Debate

Namibia currently elects Members to Parliament based on a party-list system. The National Assembly is elected from nation-wide elections and the National Council from regional elections. Elections are conducted under the supervision of the Electoral Commission which was made an independent institution in 1998.

In July 2001 NDI and UNDP sponsored a conference on Strengthening Parliament's Contribution to Good Governance. Attendees at the conference included Members of Parliament, civil society, watchdog institutions, international NGOs, and others. The Namibian electoral system was a topic of debate in the conference from Parliamentary and Political Party perspectives. Debate centered in the degree to which the system insures accountability of elected Members of Parliament to a particular constituency. No suggestion of changing the system (for instance, to a 'first past the post' system) was made by any contributor to the debate.

Conclusion on NDI Programming Addressing Electoral System Debate

The recommendation does not call for sustained ongoing programming and the recent conference provided the forum and debate recommended by the Agenda for Change.

Status of Recommendation of Agenda for Change Addressing Electoral System Debate This recommendation has been incorporated by Parliament.

VII. DISCUSSION OF MEMBER SURVEY

The survey conducted with the Members of Parliament formed the basis for the analysis of this assessment. It also provided an opportunity, consistent with NDI's approach in Namibia over the last ten years, to include the Member's opinions to guide the successful completion of NDI's Consolidation of Democracy grant.

When Members were asked what their first impressions of NDI were, the responses ranged from positive to indifferent to skeptical. The survey captured statements like:

- •"I was not impressed because it was an American NGO that represents views of opposition parties."
- •"I thought it was an agency with a political agenda."

•"I thought NDI was pro-opposition."

It was clear from these statements that NDI needed to earn its credibility. Contrasted with those statements, is 6 (g) (see Chart 9 below) which asks Members their opinion of the following statement: "NDI is too American; it does not understand the African political process and what democracy means to us." No Member surveyed agreed with that statement. Clearly, NDI over the years has earned its credibility one Member at a time.

As part of the interview, Members were asked to indicate their agreement, disagreement, or lack of an opinion concerning a series of statements that NDI has captured over the years. The statements and percentage agreeing, disagreeing or having no opinion are listed in the chart below.

CHART 9: RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS BY MEMBERS

Responses represented in percentages.

Letter of Statement	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion
a. "NDI has made an important contribution to the development of Parliament."	95		5
b. "Through NDI seminars and exposure missions I learnt my role as a legislator."	82	9	9
c. "While NDI has assisted some offices and members in Parliament, I have personally not been particularly affected."	23	68	9
d. "We are further behind with democracy than we were ten years ago."	5	81	14
e. "NDI introduced me to the utility of computers in the legislative process."	82	18	
f. "I see a lot of computers around and have a good idea about information technology, but I fail to see how it has helped us."	14	71	14
g. "NDI is too American; it does not understand the African political process and what democracy means to us."		95	5
h. "NDI's mission is just starting."	27	64	9
i. "NDI should be more focused in its work and only pick one or two things it does."	18	68	14
j. "It is time for Parliament to assume its responsibility for what NDI has provided and we should allocate the funds."	59	41	

Overwhelmingly, the Members agreed that NDI has played a vital role in the development of the Parliament. One Member noted: "I hate to think what would have happened if NDI was not there?" Most of the Members interviewed were willing to credit NDI programming and study missions with their development as law makers. One Member remarked about study missions: "They have been like universities to us." The Members who felt that they had not been personally effected consisted mainly of Ministers. However, one Minister felt that he had been at least secondarily benefited by NDI's programming through the improvement of Parliament as a whole.

The statement "NDI's mission is just starting" was confusing to many Members. Many took the statement quite literally and disagreed because they know NDI has been programming since independence. Those who took the figurative meaning split about evenly in agreeing and disagreeing. One Member who agreed by stating: "It will never end." This is consistent with the quotation by civil rights leader and US Representative John Lewis: "Democracy is a journey, not a destination."

As discussed in the analyses above, Members were very clear about what programs they considered most useful. When asked "Which support provided by NDI they found the most useful," computer training was the most frequent answer with seven Members noting it as the most useful. Computer training was followed by induction programs, budget workshops, bill analysis and study missions.

Later, Members were asked to circle programs and publications that they had either personally attended or received. The responses to this question correlated with the programs considered most useful by Members. The programs with the highest participation included the induction programs, budget workshops, bill analysis workshops, computer skills training, bill summary program and study missions. By far the most popular NDI publication was *How Laws are Made*, followed by *Understanding the National Budget*.

CHART 10: PROGRAMS REPORTED MOST ATTENDED AND PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED BY MEMBERS

Rank	# of votes	Program		
1 st	20	Induction programs		
2^{nd}	16	Budget Workshops		
3 rd	15	Bill Analysis Workshops		
4 th (2 tied)	12	Computer Skills Training		
5 th (2 tied)	11	Bill Summary Program and Study Missions		
Rank	# of votes	Publication		
1 st	22	How Laws Are Made		
2 nd (2 tied)	15	Understanding the National Budget and The Parliamentary		
		Reporter's Manual		
3 rd	14	The Debate		

Next, Members were asked to circle the programs and publications they felt were the most important. Again, the programs selected as most important were those that were best attended or received. However, with publications, it was *Understanding the National Budget* that dominated all other publications as the most important.

CHART 11: PROGRAMS AND PUBLICATIONS MOST IMPORTANT TO MEMBERS

Rank	# of votes	Program						
1 st (3 tied)	18	Induction	programs,	Bill	Analysis	programs,	and	Budget
		Workshops						

2^{nd}	14	Computer Skills training					
3 rd	12	Study Missions					
4 th (2 tied)	11	Bill Summary Program and HIV/AIDS Workshops					
5 th (2 tied)	10	Gender Advocacy Workshops and Legislative Drafting Workshops					
Rank	# of votes	Publication					
1 st	20	Understanding the National Budget					

The issues of transferring programs to Parliament and Parliament's financial commitment to the programs were explored in Questions 9 and 10. Question 9 asks: "Which of these do you think should be transferred to parliament?" Question 10 asks: "Which of these do you think Parliament should pay for?" These issues were also touched on in Statement 6(g) which states: "It is time for Parliament to assume its responsibility for what NDI has provided and we should allocate the funds."

Members met all three with a great deal of hesitation. All Members agreed that Parliament should eventually assume payment of most of the activities listed. However, none felt Parliament was currently prepared to assume them because of financial constraints and human resource limitations. Many felt that NDI and Parliament should gradually start to share. Honorable Pohamba suggested an additional five years before NDI support is completely assumed by Parliament.

On another note, some Members felt that a few of these activities should never be transferred to Parliament. They felt that other institutions outside of Parliament should provide the service because they were either more appropriately housed elsewhere (i.e. HIV/AIDS workshops provided by the Ministry of Health) or were more objectively performed outside of Parliament (i.e. budget workshops and election monitoring).

When asked: "Which of these do you think should not continue?" Members by and large skipped the question. A few circled study missions and commented that they were doing so due to the President's new policy restricting the amount of international travel by office holders. Additionally, there were three votes cast for the English writing workshops.

CHART 12: PROGRAMS AND PUBLICATIONS MEMBERS FELT SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO PARLIAMENT

Rank	# of votes	Program
1 st (2 tied)	13	Induction programs and Legislative Skills Workshops
2 nd	12	Bill Analysis Workshops
3 rd	11	Bill Summary Program
4 th	10	Budget Workshops
5 th	9	Computer Skills Training
Rank	# of votes	Publication
1 st	8	Understanding the National Budget
2 nd (2 tied)	7	How Laws are Made and The Debate

3 rd 6 Administration and Management of the National Council

Note: Members felt eventually all of the publications, except the *Parliamentary Reporter's Reference Manual* (receiving only two votes), should be transferred to Parliament.

CHART 13: PROGRAMS AND PUBLICATIONS FOR WHICH MEMBERS FELT PARLIAMENT SHOULD PAY

Rank	# of votes	Program			
1 st	15	Bill Summary Program			
2 nd	13	Induction programs			
3 rd (2 tied)	12	Bill Analysis Workshops and Budget Workshops			
4 th	9	Library, Research and Information Training			
5 th	8	slative Skills Workshops			
Rank	# of votes	lication			
1 st	14	Understanding the National Budget			
2 nd	12	How Laws are Made			
3 rd	9	The Debate			

Note: It is curious that Computer Skills Training falls out of the top five to sixth garnering only 6 votes.

When Members were asked to give their opinion about what they felt should be the focus of NDI's work in the next two years, computer training and the Information Management System were the most mentioned. These were followed by some mention of bill summaries, legislative drafting, budget workshops, induction programs and study missions. Numerous other ideas, most not previously addressed by NDI programming, nor contained in the Agenda for Change, were also mentioned. They are not listed here. However, the ideas mentioned by the Members will be incorporated in another form. Once again, the most popular responses were consistent with those listed as most important to Members.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding discussions, strategies and conclusions have all resulted from careful analysis and consultation. The ultimate recommendations from the analysis and consultations have culminated in the final 12-month Work Plan in Appendix 7. Therefore, everyone who has played a role in this process has contributed to the recommendations. Nevertheless, this Assessment would not be complete without making recommendations.

Each of the following recommendations can result in increased opportunities for citizen participation in the legislative process, increased use by parliamentarians of enhanced skills as legislators and representatives of citizens, and increased public advocacy by NGOs and civic groups:

- 1. Sustain constituency outreach capacity and strengthen public participation by sustaining the IMS.
- 2. Sustain the parliamentary and civil society budget programs by coordinating the efforts of all organizations presently involved within a banking institution who can financially support the programs.
- 3. Complete the Standing Rules and Orders revisions of both houses including codification of the recommendations of the Agenda for Change.
- 4. Sustain Legislative Oversight, Legislative Drafting, Bill Analysis, and Bill Summary Programs by inserting them into Parliament itself and create channels for Parliament to utilize Namibian and regional resources to maintain the programming.
- 5. Sustain Codes of Conduct for both houses including procedures for the declaration of assets.
- 6. Incorporate gender awareness in all sustainment efforts.

IX. CONCLUSION

The Information Management System and computer skills training will be NDI's legacy in Namibia. Induction programs, budget workshops, and bill analysis all are ranked as high or higher with Members in a popularity contest. However, when Members were asked what support they found the "most useful" (a subtle, but important difference) the IMS and computer training are mentioned most frequently. The IMS and computer training are viewed as a practical tools to accomplish law making. They paint with the broadest brush when it comes to achieving the recommendations in the Agenda for Change. The impact of the IMS/computer training will be felt in committees, research, the media, civil society, and the regions.

This is in no way to discount NDI's other programming. Simply put, the other programs are effective hammers and nails. The IMS/computer training can be a nail gun. Further, the IMS has raised hopes. Consequently, it would be disastrous for NDI to not leave behind a sustained IMS and sustained computer skills. Caution should be taken that the IMS, in a society without large numbers of home computers, is marketed and made accessible to as much of the population as possible. Otherwise, it will serve the opposite purpose, providing improved access to the Namibian Parliament only to those who can afford it.

The focus of NDI/Namibia should be on those programs identified as sustainable with particular emphasis on those viewed as most important to the Members of Parliament. NDI programs identified as sustainable are summarized in Appendix 5. Those identified as most important are in Chart 11 on page 55.

There are 19 programming efforts included in the list of sustainable programs in Appendix 5. After consultations with USAID/Namibia, Parliament and the Program Advisory Committee, NDI/Namibia has assembled its final 12-month work plan which emphasizes these 19 programs. To sustain these programs, 42 activities need to be completed in the remaining period of the grant. This is not realistic. The efforts at

sustaining NDI programming will be time consuming and detail oriented. This is necessary is a program is to genuinely live on in the absence of NDI. Therefore, all partners will have to strive further to rank the priorities and make hard decisions.

Some of the recommendations in the Agenda for Change have been technically incorporated, but are not practiced consistently. For instance, Parliament empowered itself to summon evidence in the Powers, Privileges and Immunities Act of 1996. However, the oversight that is implied by this recommendation has *not* been incorporated by Parliament. Therefore, "incorporated" is not synonymous with "practiced." As a result, the recommendations that have been incorporated, those that are yet to be incorporated, and those that have been rejected that are summarized in Appendix 4 should be viewed with caution.

It is worth mentioning twice that making these hard choices does not imply the abandonment of any parliamentary or civil society program. It is NDI's hope that sustainable programs that do not make the short list can be revisited with funding from either USAID or another donor. Therefore, it is with an optimistic view that these programs are temporarily set aside to be sustained later, and not with a cynical view that the work is abandoned and left to wither on the vine.

APPENDIX 1

AMENDMENT

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PARLIAMENT OF NAMIBIA AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROGRAM: DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION BUILDING OCTOBER 1998 - SEPTEMBER 2002

This document serves to amend the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), signed on 30th October 1995, between the National Assembly of Namibia (NA) and the National Council of Namibia (NC) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The original MOU related to activities to be carried our under a "Democratic Institution Building" grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in response to requests by Namibian parliamentary leaders for assistance in strengthening the Parliament. Based on the progress made during the past three years and new requests for support from both Houses of Parliament, NDI and USAID have entered into a follow-on cooperative agreement for the "Consolidation" of Democracy." This new agreement will continue to support the institutional development of the Namibian Parliament through September 2002. The amended MOU sets forth the arrangements between NDI and the National Assembly and the National Council for implementing the follow-on cooperative agreement. It defines the roles and responsibilities of each party and the agreed-to collaboration, coordination and interaction. The amended MOU covers implementation, administration, reporting and evaluation

The amended MOU also outlines the financial obligations of each organization, including the obligation by the Namibian government to provide in-kind contributions and to make a clear commitment to provide for recurring costs of the program after its conclusion. This amended MOU is valid for the duration of the program, October 1998 - September 2002, although it can be amended during the course of the program with the agreement of all three parties and the concurrence of USAID.

NDI recognizes the sovereignty of Namibia and the institutional autonomy and integrity of Parliament. The program is intended to support Namibian efforts to strengthen the Parliament, and NDI will not interfere with its work or take sides on any public policy issue. Those decisions are rightfully left to Namibian citizens and their elected representatives. The program responds to the initiatives of Namibian leaders, and will not seek to impose any other ideas or solutions.

INTRODUCTION

For the past seven years the National Assembly, National Council and NDI have undertaken a program to strengthen the institution of Parliament. The primary goal of the program which will continue through the duration of the program is to promote accountability among Members of Parliament and staff, transparency in the legislative process and public access to decision-making. The Speaker and Chairperson continue to acknowledge that public participation is vital to the integrity of the legislative process, and remain committed to proactively lead efforts to revise relevant structures or introduce new systems of operation to further open Parliament to the public.

The programmatic approach is two-fold. First, the National Assembly, the National Council and NDI will continue to work cooperatively within the Parliament on the institutional changes and capacity-building needed to increase public access and strengthen the legislative branch's ability to function as an independent branch of government, as provided in the Namibian Constitution. Secondly, NDI will work with community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media to expand their respective roles in the legislative process. The two approaches are complementary and will therefore have integrated program components.

The joint effort between Parliament and NDI is meant to complement and support other initiatives by the Parliament and by other funding agencies to strengthen day-to-day operations of the legislative branch. NDI's program will not address all of those initiatives. It will be balanced in its approach to working with the NA and NC, and will continue to work with both houses in an effort to address their needs for developing the respective institutions and members, taking into account their constitutional and political mandates. In order to sustain relevancy, unique programs may be designed for the two houses and for political parties serving in government and opposition.

While program design will be conducted with the full participation of the NA and NC, NDI retains financial responsibility for this cooperative agreement with USAID. NDI and parliamentary leaders and staff will continue to work together to design, schedule and organize programs and meet regularly to evaluate progress and plan future activities. Decisions on program activities will be jointly determined through a process of consultation which will include the Speaker and the Chairperson or their designees, NDI management, and the Project Advisory Committee. All program personnel will share information that will enable comprehensive monitoring and evaluation of the project. USAID, along with the U.S. Embassy and the United States Information Service in Namibia, will be consulted on the implementation of program activities.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The NA, NC and NDI will engage in activities through the four-year program that will include technical assistance, consultancies, workshops and conferences, focus groups, assessments, individual consultations and public forums. These program activities will support Parliament's efforts to:

- Create the structures and further develop the skills to function as an independent branch of national government;
- Enhance the capacity of Members and staff of the National Assembly and National Council to carry out legislative and outreach functions;
- Increase the capacity and willingness of the media to provide information on the national legislative process and on policy and advocacy issues;
- Consider legislation that will institutionalize the concepts of accountability and transparency, including ethics legislation.

The above objectives includes those that relate directly to the strengthening of the Namibian Parliament. The program also includes other activities that will be conducted outside of the Parliament, and therefore are not covered by this MOU, such as developing the skills of NGOs to advocate on behalf of their interests. During the last two years of this grant, the focus of NDI's program will shift emphasis towards strengthening the capacity of civil society to participate in the legislative process.

ADMINISTRATION

NDI will have principal responsibility for the administration of this project, and will schedule all activities with the concurrence of the Speaker and Chairperson. NDI will employ staff members specifically to monitor the progress of project activities, provide regular and timely reports, maintain accessible project files and records, conduct ongoing evaluations and keep current financial records. The Speaker and Chairman shall make information available and provide access to people as both parties agree may be required for this program. Similarly, NDI will respond to all requests by the Speaker and Chairperson for briefings and information about the program.

The project's Project Advisory Committee will continue with its present membership as well as new members who may be added from time to time. The PAC will continue to provide input on and evaluate the concepts, methodology and resource application of project activities in the program design. NDI will continue to consult with the Speaker and Chairperson regarding the responsibilities of PAC members and composition. The PAC will continue to be advisory and will have no fiduciary responsibility or decision making authority. Accordingly, the PAC's recommendations will not be binding but NDI is committed to incorporating advice of the committee in the program design. PAC members will not be compensated, nor will they have

any authority or direct input into program activities from which they or their institutions might benefit financially.

FINANCES

USAID/Namibia has awarded NDI US\$1,862,860 to carry out its program activities during Phase I from 1 September 1998 through 30 September 2000. Funding for Phase II program activities during the last two years of the cooperative agreement is contingent on final approval by USAID. USAID holds NDI fiscally responsible for all expenditures from this cooperative agreement in compliance with U.S. government regulations. Any direct expenditure of funds from the NDI agreement can only be made with prior NDI authorization. These funds will be used by NDI in maintaining an office and staff; providing subgrants to local and U.S. non-governmental organizations and other contractors; and, together with the government's inkind contribution, covering expenses of the parliamentary program activity agreed upon under the terms of the USAID/NDI cooperative agreement. In the event that NDI's funding for this program is reduced, altered or rescinded by USAID, at any point during the course of the program, NDI's program activities will be similarly affected, and all parties' obligations under this MOU will be affected.

The Parliament of the Republic of Namibia continues its clear commitment to sustaining the program after its completion by providing for recurring costs for the structures and services created in the program, particularly computer and legislative support services and library resources. Funding provided to NDI under the cooperative agreement with USAID will not cover costs for hiring any parliamentary staff.

This funding to NDI is covered by the 1990 Economic and Technical Assistance Agreement between the Governments of the United States and the Republic of Namibia, and includes provision for tax-exempt status for U.S. grantees. The offices of the Speaker and the Chairman agree to support NDI when necessary in its claim to the benefits of these provisions, such as receiving a tax-free identification number, and the corresponding right to purchase or import goods for this program without paying these duties or taxes. If necessary, the Parliament will nominate a staff member to assist NDI in these matters.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

NDI will work with the NA and NC to conduct a continuing program to measure and monitor the success of project activities. Maintenance of the system to measure the success of the program will require access to relevant information such as order papers and schedules of legislative activity. The NA and NC will continue to assist in establishing and maintaining these record-keeping systems including records of relevant actions by both houses of Parliament. NDI will continue to be provided access to this information by both houses.

NDI will be responsible for submitting programmatic and financial reports to USAID and for participating in regular meeting with USAID. Narrative reports will be given to the Speaker and Chairperson. The NA, NC and NDI will respond to all responsible requests by USAID for

participating in evaluations of program activities following the closing of the cooperative agreement.

The signatures below of the heads of the N and National Democratic Institute indicates that eathis Memorandum of Understanding.	3 ·
For the National Assembly Hon Dr. Mose Tjitendero	Date
For the National Council Hon Kandy Nehova	Date

For the National Democratic Institute		
For the National Democratic Institute	Date	
Kenneth D Wollack President		

APPENDIX 2: SECRETARIAT QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS CHART

Results are represented in percentages.

Category and statements	Agree	not sure	disagree
1. Job Parameters			
a. I understand my job responsibilities	93	6	
b. I am confident supervising others	90	10	
c. I would like to be transferred to another office in	6	16	77
Parliament			
d. I would like to be transferred to another office in	6	17	77
government			
e. I seek a promotion in Parliament	87	7	6
2. Legislation			
a. I understand how a bill becomes a law	97		3
b. I understand Parliament's role in making laws	97	3	
c. I understand bills when I read them	63	31	6
d. I can understand the purpose of a specific bill after reading it	78	22	
e. I can explain a bill to a colleague	60	31	9
f. I can write a bill summary	40	34	25
g. I can write a bill or an amendment	28	34	38
h. I can explain a bill to an Honorable Member of Parliament	47	28	25
3. Budget			
a. I understand the government's budget	66	25	9
b. I can read the government's budget	69	22	9
c. I can locate different programmes and expenses in the	64	16	19
budget			
d. I know Parliament's role in approving and reviewing the	77	13	10
budget			
4. Computers			
a. I can use e mail on a computer	94	3	3
b. I use e mail daily	81	9	9
c. I use e mail weekly	43	8	50
d. I use e mail monthly	27	15	57
e. I never use e mail		4	96
f. I can use word processing software on a computer	90	6	3
g. I use a word processor daily	78	3	19
h. I use a word processor to write letters	91	3	6
i. I use a word processor to write reports	75	6	19
j. I can hook up a computer	47	23	30
k. I can install a new printer on a computer	30	30	40
I can place information on the intranet	42	29	29
m. I know what CPU means	50	43	8
n. I know what IMS means	64	32	4
o. I have access to a computer at work	94	3	3

p. I have access to a computer at home	26	3	71
5. Library and Research			
a. I can perform research on the internet	83	17	
b. I can use a library	90	3	6
c. I can research procedures used in other parliaments	61	26	13
6. Meetings			
a. I can write an agenda for a meeting	91	6	3
b. I can make the arrangements for a meeting (i.e. venue,	91	6	3
travel, meals, etc.)			
c. I can take minutes of a meeting	91		9
d. I can chair a meeting	84	9	6
e. I can write a report	87	3	9
7. Study Missions			
a. I can write a proposal for a study mission to another country	60	31	9
b. I can identify a parliament suitable for a study mission	72	16	13
c. I can write terms of reference for a study mission	60	28	12
d. I can determine the per diem for lodging and meals	39	32	30
e. I cam complete the process to obtain financing from	63	19	19
Parliament for a study mission	70	16	
f. I can schedule meetings with another parliament	78	16	6
g. I can make the air and ground transportation arrangements for a study mission	87	6	6
8. Publications			
a. I can write an information pamphlet on Parliament	60	28	12
b. I can write a budget guide	23	43	33
c. I cam use publishing software on a computer	19	31	50
d. I can publish "The Debate"	22	32	45
9. Rules		32	13
a. I understand the Standing Rules and Orders	68	13	19
b. I understand the Committee Rules	68	13	20
c. I understand the protocols of the Parliament	52	19	9
10. Media	32	17	
a. I can write a press release	56	32	12
b. I can make arrangements for a press conference	67	23	9
c. I can prepare an Honorable Member of Parliament for an	55	29	16
interview or press conference	33	29	10
11. English Skills			
a. I can read English	100		
b. I can write English	97	3	
c. I can speak English	100		
12. Induction Programs	100		
a. I can write an agenda for an induction program	62	29	9
b. I can make arrangements for an induction program	71	23	6
c. I can write the terms of reference for an induction program	45	42	13
c. I can write the terms of reference for all induction program	73	42	13

APPENDIX 3: CIVIL SOCIETY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS CHART

Results are represented in percentages.

Results are represented in percentages.	Agrees	no4	digarus
Category and statements	Agree	not	disagree
		sure	Γ
1. Advocacy			1
a. I understand how a bill becomes a law	100		
b. I understand bills when I read them	86	14	
c. I can write a summary of a bill	67	33	
d. I can present testimony on a bill to a Parliamentary Committee	71	14	14
e. I can conduct a workshop on a bill	33	29	29
f. I can discuss a bill on the radio	71	14	14
;. I am comfortable discussing a bill with an Honorable Member of Parliament	86		14
h. I can assemble a petition	71	14	14
i. I am comfortable advocating my position on legislation	86		14
2. Budget			
a. I know how to read the budget	100		
b. I know how civil society can input into the budget process	86	14	
c. I know how to find a particular government program in the	100		
d. I know Parliament's role in approving and reviewing the	86	14	
budget	00	14	
3. Research			
a. I can research on the internet	71	29	
b. I can use a library	100		
c. I can write a research report on legislation	57	43	
4. Workshops	37	13	
a. I can write a workshop program	100		
b. I can make the arrangements for a workshop (i.e. venue,	100		
travel, printing, meals, etc.)	100		
c. I can take minutes of a meeting	86	14	
d. I can chair a meeting	100	1.	
e. I can write a report for funders on a completed program	100		
activity	100		
5. Proposals			
a. I can write a funding proposal	100	 	
b. I can write a budget for a program proposal	100		
c. I can write a report for funders on a completed program	100		
activity			
6. Publications			
a. I can write an information pamphlet	100		
b. I can launch a new publication	71	29	
c. I can work with printers to publish a document	86	14	

7. Media		
a. I can write a press release	100	
b. I interview well with the media	100	

Work Plan Schedule	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Jan	F
May 2001 to June 2002									
A. PARLIAMENT									
1. Independence of the Legislative Branch									
 a. Private Member Bill Seminar (NA/NC) (last intervention) 			/						
b. Legislative Oversight Seminar (NA/NC)							~		
c. Joint HIV/AIDS Oversight Conference USAID commitment				~					
 d. Budget Program for National Council (workshops and co-ordination to sustain program) 				•					
e. Budget Program for National Assembly (workshops and co-ordination to sustain program)									(
f. Independent Parliamentary Research Skills									
 i. Legislative Research, Interviewing and Report Writing 	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>
ii. Launch A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet	•								
iii. Staff Workshop on A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet (NA/NC)		~		~			~		
iv. Members of Parliament Workshop on A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet		•		•		•			
v. Civil Society Workshop on A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet		~	~	~	~				
vi. Regional Workshops on A Guide to Legislative Research on the Internet		~	~	~	~				
vii. Legal Research Attachment (NA/NC)									
g. NA Management Training (final intervention)	~	~			~				
h. Speaker Study Mission									

Work Plan Schedule		June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Jan	F
May 2001 to June 2002									
i. Chairman Study Mission									
2. Structures for Citizen Input to Parliament and Enhanced Capacity for Legislative and Outreach Functions									
a. <u>Committees</u>									
i. Nat. Assembly Committee Rules (revision/amendment)		•							
ii. Nat. Assembly Standing Rules and Orders (revision/amendment)		•							
iii. Nat. Council Standing Rules and Orders (revision/amendment)						~			
iv. Staff attachment for two Committee Clerks (NA/NC)				~					
v. Guide for Committee Chairpersons and Clerks							~		
vi. Constituency Outreach Guide									
b. Parliament Information Communication Technology									
i. Advise Parliament IT Committee	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>:
ii. Committee Clerk PICT Training (NA/NC)		~		~		~			
iii. Committee Chair PICT Training (NA/NC)		'		~		~			
iv. Director PICT Training (NA/NC)		/		~		~			
v. MP PICT Training (NA/NC)		~		~		~			
vi. Civil Society PICT Training		~	V	~	~				
vii. Regional PICT Training		v	/	~	~				
viii. Develop and Install Additional Functions in IMS									
ix. IMS Manual									
x. Create Know Your Parliament on-line publication									

Work Plan Schedule		June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Jan	F
May 2001 to June 2002									
X. xi. Launch Information Management System (NA/NC)	~								
XI. B. CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS									
Consult NANGOF on Advocacy Publication	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>:
Sustain Budget Program for Civil Society		~	~						
3. Gender Advocacy									
XII. C. ETHICS IN A TRANSPARENT PARLIAMENT									
NA Code of Conduct Consultation and Declaration Form Workshop	•		•						
Anti-Corruption Consultation and Research	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>>>	>:
XIII. D. MEDIA IN A TRANSPARENT PARLIAMENT									
Workshop Parliamentary Reporter's Manual		•							
Parliament Media Relations Training (NA/NC)								~	
3. Radio Shows—Community Radio									•
E. FOCUS GROUPS		~	/	~					

APPENDIX 4

Member of Parliament Survey Questions

Name of Member:	

- 1. Do you remember when you first heard of NDI?
- 2. What were your first impressions of NDI?
- 3. What is the first NDI activity you participated in?
- 4. Which was the most useful support that NDI has offered? Any others worth mentioning?
- 5. Are you familiar with NDI's publications? Are there any that are particularly useful?
- 6. The following are comments others have made about NDI's programs. Please tell me which you agree with, disagree with, or have no opinion about.
 - a. "NDI has made an important contribution to the development of Parliament."
 - b. "Through NDI seminars and exposure missions I learnt my role as a legislator."
 - c. "While NDI has assisted some offices and members in Parliament, I have personally not been particularly affected."
 - d. "We are further behind with democracy than we were ten years ago."
 - e. "NDI introduced me to the utility of computers in the legislative process."
 - f. "I see a lot of computers around and have a good idea about information technology, but I fail to see how it has helped us."
 - g. "NDI is too American; it does not understand the African political process and what one democracy means to us."
 - h. "NDI's mission is just starting."
 - i. NDI should be more focused in its work and only pick one or two things it does."
 - j. It is time for Parliament to assume its responsibility for what NDI has provided and we should allocate the funds."

For the next five questions I am going to give you a list of NDI activities and publications and ask you to **circle** your answers.

- 7. Please circle those activities in which you have directly participated or publication(s) You have received?
- 8. Circle those most important to you.
- 9. Which of these do you think should be transferred to Parliament?
- 10. Which of these do you think Parliament should pay for?
- 11. Which do you think should not continue?

Programs/Activities

- 1. Bill Analysis Workshops
- 2. Bill Summary Program
- 3. Budget Workshops
- 4. Comparative Legal Research and Analysis
- 5. Computer Skills Training
- 6. Election Monitoring
- 7. English Writing Workshops
- 8. Gender/Advocacy Workshops
- 9. HIV/AIDS Workshops
- 10. Induction Programs
- 11. Information Management System
- 12. Legislative Drafting Training
- 13. Legislative Skills Workshops
- 14. Library, Research and Information Training
- 15. Media Training
- 16. Regional Surveys
- 17. Report Writing Training
- 18. Study Missions to other countries **Publications**
- 19. Administration and Management of the National Council
- 20. How Laws are Made

- 21. The Debate
- 22. The Parliamentary Reporter's Reference Manual
- 23. Understanding the National Budget

- 12. Do you feel staff skills have been improved because of NDI's programmes? If yes, how? If no, why?
- 13. What should be the focus of NDI's work for the next two years in Namibia?

APPENDIX 5: NDI PROGRAMMING STATUS SUMMARY CHART

Sustained	Sustainable in remaining period	Not sustainable in remaining period
Induction Programs	Establishment of Committees including Ad Hoc and Special Committees •Standing Rules and Orders Revisions •Guide for Committee Clerks and •Chairpersons	Joint Committees
Committee Summons Power	Committee Membership •Standing Rules and Orders Revisions	Independent Parliamentary Service
Parliamentary Questions	Committee Functions Bill Analysis Bill Summaries Legislative Drafting Budget Program Study Missions	
Committee Membership	Pre-legislative Consultation •Standing Rules and Orders Revisions	
Electoral System Debate	Legislative Oversight Oversight Seminar Replies to Committee Reports Standing Rules and Orders Revisions Bill Commentaries from Ministries	
	•Standing Rules and Orders Revisions	
	Time Allocation for Committee Work Information Management System PICT Training	
	Committee of the Regions Constituency Outreach Publication Guide for Committee Clerks and Chairpersons	
	Committee Reports and Evidence IMS PICT Training Standing Rules and Orders Revisions	
	Member Specialty Skills Budget Program Study Missions Staff Attachments	
	Private Member Bills Process and Workshop	
	Parliament Openness •Standing Rules and Orders Revisions •IMS	

Consolidating Parliamentary Democracy in Namibia

-DICT Training	
•PICT Training Dual Role of the National Council	
•Standing Rules and Orders Revisions	
National Council Regional Offices	
•IMS	
•PICT Training	
Information, Research and Policy	
Analysis	
Finalize Research Training	
 Workshop Guide to Legislative 	
Research on the Internet	
•Staff Attachment	
Information Management System	
•Marketing of IMS	
•PICT Training	
IT Committee	
On-line Manual	
•Know Your Parliament on-line	
publication	
Parliament Staff	
 Transfer Management Training 	
Ethics	
Code of Conduct	
Declaration Form	
•Anti-Corruption Bill Support	
Media in Parliament	
•Support for KCR	
Provide Resource Material	
•Workshop Parliamentary Reporter's	
Reference Manual	
Skills of Seven Civil Society	
Organizations and Parliament	
•CSO Budget Program	
•Gender Awareness Integration	
•Advocay Publication	

Consolidating Parliamentary Democracy in Namibia

APPENDIX 6: STATUS OF AGENDA FOR CHANGE RECOMMENDATION

Incorporated	Unincorporated	Rejected
Standing/select committees	Joint committees	Process of appointing Members to committees
Ad hoc and special committees	Pre-legislative consultation by committees and from regional councils	Opposition chairing important committees
Agenda recommended number of	Requiring government to reply to reports and time for debate on reports	
Members per committee Majority of committees in	Commentaries from government prior	
National Assembly	to tabling bills	
Committee power to examine legislation	Specialty development of committee Members	
Summons power	Private Member bills	
Time for committees to meet	Parliament more open to the public	
Select Committee of the Regions	The dual role of the National Council	
Committees take evidence in	National Council Offices in the	
public and prepare reports in	Regions	
private		
Committee reports and minutes	Information, research and policy	
publicly available	analysis service; and head thereof	
Ministers not allowed on	Portable computers for Members	
committees (by tradition only)		
Committee work attract allowances	Code of Conduct	
Bipartisan approach to committee work	Independent Parliamentary Service	
Computer technology		
internationally linked		
Computers extended to Regional Councils		
Members should have staff		
Members should receive per diem		
Members should have translation		
equipment and services		
Establishment of a broadcasting		
unit		
Responsibly edited media reports		
Create channels of communication		
with civil society		
Debate on electoral system		

Public Participation in The Legislation Process

A Summary of Results from a Nation-wide Regional Survey and a National Conference Conducted by the National Council and the National Democratic Institute between April and October 2000

> Foster Mijiga NDI, Namibia

Notes and Acknowledgements

Public participation in the legislative process is a culmination of a process, comprising a series of consultations, through questionnaires, interviews, workshops and a national conference. This undertaking was made possible under the direction of the Chairman of the National Council, Hon. Kandy Nehova.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the National Council of the Parliament of Namibia, are proud to be associated with this report and would like to thank all those who were involved in the process that led to the production of this report.

Our greatest debt is to all the many persons who took time off their busy schedule and shared their knowledge and experience with us during the lengthy consultative process, these include the Minister of Regional and Local Government and Housing, Hon.Nickey Iyambo, the Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare, Hon. Netumbo N Ndaitwah, the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Hon. Willem Konjore, all Regional Governors and Members of the National Council and the President of the Association of Regional Councils, Hon. Asser Kapere.

We also extend our appreciation to all Regional Officers and their staff, representatives of Local Authorities, Traditional Leaders and representatives of civic and non-governmental organizations.

The Secretary to the National Council, Ms. P. N. Shimutwikeni is particularly appreciated for taking on the challenging task of coordinating the entire process. The successful implementation of this initiative was made possible due to the commitment and guidance of the Director of NDI Namibia, Ms. Advocate Achieng Akumu and the NDI Southern Africa Regional Director, Ms. Patricia Keefer. The role of NDI and National Council staff is also sincerely acknowledged, and these included NDI Program Officer, Mr. Pero Nampila, the Chief Control Officer in the National Council, Mr. George Shinyala, NDI Administrative Assistants, Ms Anetha Swartz and Peter Prince, and the NDI Officer Manager, Allan Weiko.

While thanking all those who were involved in this process, the views contained in this report do not necessarily represent the views of every Namibian or the institutions represented during the consultative process. These were the views of the individuals that participated in the consultative process.

Foster Mijiga Senior Program Officer National Democratic Institute, Namibia 2001. This program has been funded by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Table of Contents	Page	
Introduction	1	
Survey Methodology	2	
Outcomes of the Survey Process	5	
Access to debates, bills, reports and other documents in the National Council	10	0
Participation when bills are being reviewed by the National Council	1	1
Access to activities, programs and calendar of the National Council	13	3
Flow of information between the National Council and the Regions	14	4
Flow of information between the different regional council	s 14	4
The role of Regional Councils in facilitating public particip	oation 1:	5
Public participation in the context of Decentralisation	1′	7
The role of Information Technology in facilitating public participation	18	8
Conclusion	23	3
Appendices	2	7

Public Participation in the Legislative Process

I. Introduction

Since its inception in February 1993, the National Council has been striving to serve the people of Namibia and fulfilling the Council's constitutional mandate. In pursuing this goal, the National Council has reviewed legislation passed by the National Assembly since 1993 and in the process; legislation has been accepted without amendments while some legislation has been accepted with recommended amendments. During the same process, some legislation has been rejected and returned to the National Assembly.¹

In addition to pursuing the Council's constitutional role as a house of legislative review, the National Council has also continued to serve as a forum for a regional caucus, an institution where all the Regions of Namibia are given an opportunity to directly articulate regional views on legislation individually or collectively with other regions.

The constitutional role and functions of the National Council provide a practical framework for taking the Parliament of Namibia closer to the people. Since members of the National Council are directly elected from regional councils, the institution is unique in the legislative process, as it is the only legislative institution with membership representing geographical constituencies in Namibia. The uniqueness of the National Council as an institution becomes even more important when considered within the context of the Namibian government decentralization process.

Through the regional structures, the Constitution places the National Council in a strategic position to serve as a conduit between citizens' voices and Parliament, an institution where the regions are given an opportunity to make input and scrutinize government policies. Within this context, the National Council provides a forum for regional debate and consensus, thereby contributing to increased public participation in the legislative process.

The constitution provides clear guidelines on the goals and objectives of the National Council. However, just like any developing institution, the National Council has its own set of challenges. Being the only institution made up of constituencies, the National Council has the constitutional obligation to solicit and incorporate the views of the public into national legislation. Therefore the quality and strength of democracy in Namibia largely depends on the quality and extent of efforts to solicit public input into national legislation.

¹ For example, among others, the National Council passed the Electricity Bill without amendments, passed the Petroleum Products and Energy Amendment Bill with suggested amendments and rejected the Communal Land Bill.

For the National Council to achieve meaningful and constructive public input into legislation, individuals and institutions in a particular region need opportunities to listen, question and express their opinions on national legislation. The public needs information and an understanding of the benefits and implications of national legislation on their lives, their communities and their respective regions.

As institutions of governance, directly represented in Parliament, the Regional Councils are well placed to facilitate public dialogue on national legislation, soliciting and facilitating input from local and traditional authorities, non-governmental organizations; community based organizations, the general public and other interested parties at a regional level.²

From this Constitutional arrangement, one can conclude that avenues and structures for public participation in the legislative process truly exist in Namibia. The challenge is to ensure that these structures are operating efficiently and to identify mechanisms that will strengthen and enhance the capacity of these structures.

In addition to the political structures of public participation established by the Constitution, the success of public participation also depends on the administrative capacity at a regional, local and traditional authority level. Therefore the success of the National Council legislative process largely depends on the availability of human, technical and financial recourses at a regional level and within other key institutions in a particular region.

It is within this context that the Chairman of the National Council undertook the initiative to visit all the regions in 1999, and thereafter assigned National Council Staff, with the support of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)³ to conduct a regional survey and identify views or opinions, concerns and issues regarding the National Council legislative process at both the National and Regional levels.⁴

The survey was aimed at achieving several objectives, among them, the National Council sought to identify lessons that would strengthen the National Council's legislative process and foster informed regional and public participation in the country's legislative process. Secondly, the National Council sought to strengthen communication links with the Regional Councils, and to explore ways of using Computer Technologies to facilitate inter-regional communication, and communication between the National Council and its stakeholders, thereby facilitating greater participation in the legislative process.

II. **Survey Methodology**

² See: Agenda for Change

³ NDI is a US Based non-governmental organization working to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new emerging democracies. With its headquarters in Washington DC, NDI has offices in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the former Soviet Union

⁴ See: Appendix 1, Regional Survey Terms of Reference

Starting from April 2000, the National Council embarked on a nation-wide survey, consulting major stakeholders including all thirteen Regional Councils, Local and Traditional Authorities in each region, business, labour, Non-Governmental and Community Based Organisations through NANGOF and in other cases directly through the Regional Councils. The survey consisted of the following components that complemented each other:

- 1. Opinion survey through questionnaires;
- 2. Regional Workshops; and
- 3. National Conference

The survey was aimed at identifying the following key issues:

- Mechanisms that would enhance public participation in Namibia's Legislative Process, in particular through the regions and the National Council;
- Mechanisms that would enhance communication between Parliament and the regions;
- Mechanisms that would bring the public closer to Parliament and its processes;
- Mechanisms that would enhance communication between the regions and the public; and
- Mechanisms that would enhance information flow between Parliament, the regions and the public.

(1) The Questionnaire:

The National Council with assistance from NDI developed a questionnaire that was sent to all Regional Councils, Local and Traditional Authorities, Non-Governmental and Community Based Organisations and the different stakeholders as determined by their respective Regional Councils ⁵

The questionnaire formed the first part of a regional survey process that was followed by regional workshops conducted in all thirteen regions starting from May 29, 2000 through to June 29, 2000.⁶ The regional workshops were the second phase of the survey process followed by a National Conference that took place on 24th and 25th October 2000, marking the final phase of the survey process

During the first phase of the regional survey, the questionnaire reached an estimated 500 people in all thirteen regions of Namibia and 63% responded.

(2) The Regional Workshops

⁵ See the Regional Survey Questionnaire. Appendix II

⁶ See the National Council Regional Workshops Agenda. Appendix III

During the second phase of the regional survey, 424 people attended the regional workshops in nine of Namibia's thirteen regions. The Regional Workshops took place on the following dates, (note that some regions were clustered for logistical purposes):

29 May 2000	Omusati Regional Council Kunene Regional Council
30 May 2000	Oshana Regional Council
12 June 2000	Oshikoto Regional Workshop Kavango Regional Workshop Caprivi Regional Workshop
13 June 2000	Ohangwena Regional Council
19 June 2000 20 June 2000	Karas Regional Workshop Hardap Regional Worksop
22 June 2000	Erongo Regional Workshop
26 June 2000	Khomas Regional Workshop Otjozodjupa Regional Council
29 June 2000	Omaheke Regional Workshop
24 – 25 October 2000	National Conference (Windhoek, Khomas)

At every regional workshop, the Regional Governors officially opened the deliberations, except in one region. During the workshops, participants were taken through an overview of the first phase of the survey (the questionnaire), how a bill becomes a law and the various opportunities for public participation and interventions in the legislative process. During these sessions, participants discussed the different avenues for public participation within the context of their respective regions and the potential opportunities and challenges facing their regions.⁷

The regional workshops also considered several options and mechanisms that would facilitate public participation and information flow, including the use of Internet and Electronic Mail (email). At the end of each workshop, participants came up with recommendations that formed the basis of the National Conference agenda and the determination of a national strategy to enhance communication between Parliament and the public; thereby facilitating increased and informed public participation in the legislative process.

(3) The National Conference

After identifying the different regional views, opportunities, constraints and challenges, through the questionnaires and the regional workshops, the National Conference brought together the

⁷ See the National Council Regional Workshops Agenda. Appendix III

regional stakeholders that had responded to the questionnaires and participated in the regional workshops together with Members of Parliament, academics and representatives of civic organisations to collectively analyse the status of regional participation from a regional perspective and to identify mechanisms that would enhance public participation at both the national and regional levels.

The initiative to enhance public participation was also vital given the fact that the government of Namibia passed legislation enabling the implementation of a decentralisation process. Among other provisions, the policy facilitates the transfer or delegation of powers and functions of the government of Namibia from the national level to regional and local levels.⁸

Regional participation was also considered critical considering the fact the National Council has the constitutional obligation to advise and sensitise both the executive and the National Assembly on the needs of the regions and the impact of government policies on the regions.

However, it is important to note that the results from the survey and the National Conference do not offer any scientific indicators, nor do they represent the opinions and views of every Namibian. Instead, the results represent the views of selected groups specifically identified because the Regional Authorities considered them to be key community players in the respective regions, and also because they responded to the questionnaires and participated during the regional workshops and the National Conference.

It is equally important to note that the questionnaires, the regional workshops and the National Conference were all part of the same process. Therefore what follows is an outline of challenges and opportunities identified during these processes and discussed at both a regional and national level.

III. Outcomes of the Survey Process

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of the survey was to identify mechanisms that would strengthen "public participation" in the legislative process. However, the term "public participation" has been used widely and under different circumstances all over the world. At times, "public participation" is also called "citizen participation," "public or community involvement," "citizen involvement," and so fourth. While these different terms may actually represent a different degree to which the public becomes an integral part in the decision making or legislative process, these terms have one thing in common, and that is the principle of citizen involvement in the decisions that affect the citizens' lives, the principle of consultation on matters of public interest and the principle of collective decision making.

As an institution representing geographical constituencies, the National Council legislative process would be incomplete without the full adherence to this principle. The term "public"

⁸ See Volume 2 of the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing 's Policy Documents on Decentralisation in Namibia.

⁹ Hon. Kapere, Member of Parliament in the National Conference and National Conference Chairperson.

participation" is therefore used in this report in the context of consultation and citizen involvement on matters of public interest.

However, when dealing with matters of public interest, there are times when consultation, citizen involvement or "public participation" becomes a legal requirement such as in Article 132, Sub-Article (3) of the Namibian Constitution, while in certain cases, public participation becomes an integral means to justify the outcome of a particular process, such as in Parliamentary Committee hearings.

The challenge that faced the regional workshops and the National Conference was to identify and define the "public," who is the public, how and where does the public participate in the legislative process or on matters of public interest. How to determine "public interest" and who should define "public interest." Just as was the case at the regional workshops, the two-day national conference wrestled with these two concepts. In terms of the preamble to the Namibian Constitution, the public means all citizens of Namibia in terms of Chapter 2, Article 4 of the Constitution, while Article 17 of the Namibian Constitution goes further and makes provision for all citizens of Namibia to participate in the conduct of public affairs directly or through elected representatives.

The National Council initiative was therefore an attempt to identify mechanisms that would strengthen the participation of all Namibian citizens in the legislative process of the country and on matters that affect citizens' lives. ¹⁰ The challenge for the National Council and the National Conference was therefore to identify practical mechanisms that would create practical avenues and facilitate the participation of over 1.6 million Namibian citizens in the legislative process. Cognisant of the fact that not all citizens can directly participate on all the decisions all the time, and that in certain cases, the citizens may not be interested to participate, the National Council initiative sought to ensure that decisions being made in the National Council and the overall direction of government policies reflect a great degree of public sentiment.

During the conference, participants unanimously agreed that the constitutional framework for public participation in Namibia's legislative process was clear and that the establishment of the National Assembly and the National Council consisting of 72 Members elected on the basis of proportional representation and 26 Members nominated by each Regional Council respectively should be seen within the context of institutionalising public participation. There was also consensus during the conference that since members of Regional Councils are directly elected, the establishment of a regional based National Council in Parliament provides an avenue for greater and direct public participation in the country's legislative process. Therefore the challenge facing the National Council was to turn this constitutional provision into an effective and practical institutional reality.

The regional survey and the national conference that superseded it focused on the following specific areas:

- Regional Participation in the legislative process;
- Regional access to the National Council;

10

¹⁰ See Regional Survey and National Conference Terms of Reference. Appendix 1 and 4 respectively.

- Regional access to Members of the National Council;
- Regional access to legislative information in Parliament;
- Regional access to Parliament calendars, programs and activities;
- Decentralization and the role of the regions in the legislative and policy development process;
- MPs access to the regions;
- Sharing of legislative information between different regions;
- Dissemination of legislative information in the regions;
- Public access to legislative information through regional councils;
- Public access to legislative information through local and traditional authorities;
- The role of government departments in disseminating information pertaining to draft legislation;
- Plain language bills and draft legislation;
- Public hearings, potential and challenges;
- Feedback from parliamentary committees;
- The role of the National Council in the legislative process;
- The legislative relationship between the National Council and the National Assembly;
- The relationship between the executive branch of government and regional government
- The role of Information Technologies in the legislative process.

Overall, individuals who participated in the regional survey and the national conference supported the constitutional establishment of the National Council as a house of review in the Namibian legislative process. In several regional workshops, participants were of the view that the powers of the National Council should be increased as the institution is representative of geographical constituencies. Commenting on public participation and the role of the National Council, the Regional Governor of Kunene region observed that "In a country with too strong party political influences, one doubt the fairness of debating and participation in the legislative process. The tendency to be always on your party's side without considering the real facts somehow results in amendment of acts higher than the normal practice." While membership of the National Assembly is party based, most participants were of the view that the National Council would play a critical role in balancing party political interests with those of the regions.

Participants viewed the establishment of the National Council as a positive commitment by the authors of the Namibian constitution to take Parliament closer to the people and to provide more avenues for public participation in addition to the proportionally represented National Assembly.

The issues that surfaced in most regional workshops and the national conference were not necessarily about whether the establishment of the National Council was essential or not, but were more on whether or not the National Council was fulfilling its constitutional mandate, and whether the constitutional powers and functions of the National Council were adequate to achieve the intended goals and objectives? Participants were aware that the National Council was constitutionally accountable to the Regional Councils and ultimately the public in the respective constituencies, the question was rather on the extent to which National Council committees reflected and fulfilled this requirement.

Participants invariably supported the National Council concept. However, just as was the case during the regional workshops, participants at the National Conference were of the view that in addition to the provision for two representatives from each regional council to be represented in the National Council, a mechanism to directly represent the institutions of local and traditional authorities should also be considered.

However, virtually in all ten workshops and in most responses to the questionnaires, access to members of the National Council was a major concern. Participants were concerned that members were not constantly in-touch with their regions, as a result, the regions were not informed about the business and activities of the National Council, leading to minimal participation in the legislative process, and sometimes no participation at all. These sentiments were also echoed during the national conference, and the Ministry of Regional Local Government informed the national conference that a previous survey conducted by the Ministry had identified the same challenge.¹¹

However, it should be noted that both the survey and National Conference participants acknowledged that some elected representatives and government officials attempt to stay in touch with the regions and the people that elected them. However, there was equally a unanimous view that little and sometimes no public participation was taking place when these elected representatives or officials travelled to the regions. It was observed that often the regions are lectured by some government official, often in hurry or an elected representative who is not ready to take a position on a particular issue. ¹²

Presenting a Hardap Regional view on public participation, the Regional Governor for the Region Hon Kisting said that public participation in the Hardap Region was rated at "ZERO." The Hon. Governor submitted that the few times parliamentary committees had conducted public hearings in his region, these hearings were only held in Mariental and only those with the means of transport, and those who live in Mariental were able to attend the hearings. Furthermore, the few people that were able to attend were normally the unemployed members of the public as the notices were generally very short, and the hearings were taking place during working hours when members of other sectors could not attend.

One participant in Oshana said, "It is not worth attending public hearings, because little hearing goes on. Either the officials are in a hurry or the elected representatives can not respond unless they consult the experts, and in the end it becomes the wishes of the people against those of the expert or consultant, yet these consultants are not accountable to the people."

Sentiments like these were common during the regional survey as well as the national conference, participants were concerned that little two way communication takes place during public hearings and that in the absence of two way communication, the public does not get feedback on issues, and therefore it was difficult to determine whether the public was being

-

¹¹ Capacity Assessment of Regional Councils by Dr. Mukwena and Mr. C.M Drake

¹² This view first appeared in response to the questionnaire that was sent to the regions and was also the first issue to be highlighted as an area of concern during the very first regional workshop in Oshana and continued to surface throughout the survey process.

heard. One participant concluded that the public was being consulted after decisions had already been taken.

This concern was based on the perception that on a few occasions when the participants thought real public participation had taken place, often the final decision taken by the elected representatives did not reflect the public sentiment, but the opinion of the so called "experts or consultants," who were not directly accountable to the public. Therefore, according to the participants the challenge for the National Council is to introduce mechanisms that will inform the public, solicit public input and reflect the wishes and aspirations of the Namibian citizenry in the final decisions or actions.

The national conference addressed the issue from a different perspective. According to research conducted by Dr. Mukuena and Mr C M. Drake on behalf of the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing, this lack of proper avenues for public participation would potentially hamper the implementation of the decentralisation program. The conference was informed that the study results indicated that the regions considered the decentralisation process as a "hand-me-down" from central government, whereas it should be seem as a partnership.

It should be noted that the decentralisation policy and its implementation process were used as a practical case study during the conference. The researchers concluded that unless regional and local councils were fully involved in the formulation of the decentralisation legislation and related policies, it would be unrealistic to expect the regions to own the implementation process, and that this lack of consultation and participation would increase the likelihood of policy failure.

There was a consensus during the conference that elected representatives ought to identify practical mechanisms to facilitate and attract public participation. There was also a consensus that public participation should be institutionalised in the legislative and policy development process. However, the conference also spent a considerable amount of time looking at the question of apathy. Participants indicted that while elected representatives have a constitutional obligation to represent the public and therefore solicit public input, there were instances where the public was not keen to participate, despite efforts by the elected representatives.

While participants attending the regional workshops acknowledged the logistical, financial and time constraints that make it difficult for elected representatives to stay in-touch regularly, the conference was mandated by the delegates to identify mechanisms and strategies that will attract and facilitate public participation. Participants also acknowledged that it was unrealistic to expect elected representatives to consult and please all the people all the time.

Participants at both the national conference and the regional workshops highlighted the need for elected representatives to make an added effort to consult the public, not on an ad hoc basis, but as part of regular procedure when making decisions on behalf of their constituents. Participants also proposed the creation of clear avenues for public input when formal consultations are not taking place.¹³

9

.

¹³ See The Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing Capacity Assessment of Regional Councils in Namibia.

(1) Access to debates, bills, reports and other documents in the National Council

Access to parliamentary information such as bills, reports, parliamentary calendars, order papers and other parliamentary related documents varied between the different regions. An estimated 75% of the participants indicated that they did not have direct access to parliamentary information and that there were no formal systems in place at a regional level for receiving and disseminating parliamentary information.

75% of the participants indicated that the only sources of parliamentary information were radio, television and newspapers. On the other hand, staff in 9 regional councils indicated that they had received parliamentary information such as bill summaries and on a few occasions, they had received draft legislation. However, none of this information was received consistently. The only documents that the regions received consistently were government gazettes. The implication of this lack of information was that the regions were not able to participate in the legislative or policy development process due to lack of information, and instead they only received finalised government policies by way of government gazettes.

While regional staff acknowledged receiving parliamentary information on a few occasions, the information was often received late or the time given for regional input was not adequate for the regions to consult and make informed inputs in the legislative or policy development process. This challenge was compounded by the fact that regions did not have the expertise to analyse the legal jargon used in draft legislation, and even when they received the plain language bill summaries, the regions did not have research information to inform them on the background of the draft legislation or proposed amendments, neither did they have a scientific understanding of the social, economic and political impact of a particular bill on their respective regions. While it was taking government ministries months and sometimes years to conduct research and develop legislation and government policies, when consulted, regional councils with their limited resources were expected to provide feedback in just a few days.

Therefore it was difficult for the regions to make meaningful and informed contributions in the legislative or policy development process. While most of the concerns revolved around the link between Parliament and the regions, other stakeholders at a regional level were equally concerned about the lack or communication and information flow between the regional councils and other institutions at a regional level, such as local and traditional authorities, business and civil society at large. There was a concern in most of the regions that information reaching the regional council offices did not filter through to other stakeholders. The lack of co-ordination was a view that was raised in 8 regions.

Regional survey participants invariably requested the National Council as an institution and the MPs as individuals delegated by the regions to devise mechanisms that will ensure consistent and efficient sharing of information between the regions and the Parliament through the National Council. In addition, participants requested the regional councils to enhance or develop communication-sharing mechanisms, to ensure that stakeholders in a particular region had

information on legislation or policies, and that they were given an opportunity to make informed inputs and actively participate in the country's legislative processes.

(2) Participation when bills are being reviewed by the National Council

As a house of review, and an institution representing all the regions in the country, most participants were of the view that the National Council was strategically positioned and that it could do more do encourage and facilitate regional participation in the legislative and policy development process. Although the participants upheld the constitutional provision that requires every region to elect only two representatives to the National Council, participants invariably emphasised the need and desire to have the elected members report back and consult their constituencies regularly when the National Council was considering legislation.

The role of parliamentary committees was also highlighted as the most relevant in facilitating public participation when the National Council is reviewing legislation or sensitizing the executive and the National Assembly on regional concerns and the impact of legislation on the various regions. "The admission of the public, experts and the government into the deliberation of Parliamentary Committees is a worldwide practice among democratic institutions. The participation of experts and ordinary Namibians in a committee policy debate broadens the scope of opinions under consideration and helps to illuminate the possible consequences of policy choices," said the Hon. Willem Konjore: Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

Conference participants endorsed parliamentary committees as the link between the general population and the Parliament. Parliamentary committees were said to be the forums most capable of facilitating the outflow and input of information concerning decisions regarding a particular issue or sector and that their small size allows for policy focus, while their multiparty composition facilitates broad discussion. Furthermore, the mandate given to committees to conduct open hearings provides direct channels to communicate with the public.

Since the National Council committees are relatively new, participants at the National Conference urged the National Council to strengthen its committee system as they had the potential to focus on a specific issue and task at a time, through which committee members could benefit and develop specialization and ultimately share that expertise and information with the regions. Through the National Council committee hearings and deliberations, the National Council would also play a vital role in providing guidance from a public and regional perspective to both the National Assembly and the Executive.

While both the survey and the National Conference participants agreed that members of the public are keen to have access to the legislative process, the public was equally aware that not all views could be reflected in every final decision. However, National Council members were urged to understand the benefits of considering a diverse set of opinions or recommendations. A key to success in this process was recommended to be the involvement of the public before decisions are made. In addition, the decision-making process should be as transparent as possible; to an extent that all committee work remains open to the public and that closed meetings should be a rare exception.

It was recommended that each committee should (where possible and appropriate) consider providing the necessary space in the committee's work schedules for informing the public about the committee's work, conducting public outreach activities and programmes and incorporating public input in the final decision. In publicising the committee work schedules, it was recommended that committees should always keep the public informed and alert the public on ways to become involved in parliamentary activities.

However, it was noted that this could not be achieved easily, particularly for the relatively new National Council committees. It was therefore recommended that National Council committees endeavor to enhance their capacity to respond to citizen inputs. This would require a focus in the work of committee staff and members to develop written responses to citizen requests and concerns, among other strategies.

While participants acknowledged that some committees had been active than others, National Council committees were requested to extend periods of time for public outreach as it was proving very difficult to conduct public outreach programmes during short periods of one or two days, especially if Members do not reside in their constituencies.

"Public hearings should be publicised with advance notices and should be incorporated as part of the institution's overall constituency outreach efforts and not a once off event." Said the Governor of Otjozondjupa Region. Participants requested that hearings should preferably not only depend upon the introduction of legislation, but should rather remain focused on issues under debate and that each committee should develop a plan for public hearings that can be included in Parliament's overall outreach publicity. Committees were also requested to send information to the regions in advance if they were to receive meaningful public input.

However, participants conceded that there were some National Council committees that had visited their respective regions to consult on key legislation thereby enabling the regions to participate in the legislative and policy development process.

Participants however emphasised the need for the National Council to consider allocating more time for public hearings. One participant in the Hardaap region said that the public hearings are not adequate for meaningful citizen participation, because of time constraints and that expecting citizens to contribute on legislation instantly was unrealistic. The participant made reference to the expertise at the disposal of parliament and the government departments that initiate bills and propose amendments, in comparison with members of the public, who do not have access to similar expertise or information, yet they are expected to contribute within a few hours of the bill being read to them during a public hearing.

The participant suggested that, "unless the public was given information or bills ahead of a scheduled public hearing, to provide the public with adequate time to digest and analyse the information, public hearings were not serving any productive purpose. Public hearings without adequate and timely information should not be counted as mechanisms of facilitating public participation."

This sense of impotence seemed to transcend region and circumstance. Participants from different institutions across the country and virtually in all the regions expressed concerns about the level of participation in the legislative and policy development process. The challenge for the National Council was therefore to identify mechanisms that will enhance credibility in its decision-making process, incorporating widely differing points of view and building consensus in its decisions and actions. The action taken by the National Council on the Land Bill was regularly raised as a positive example in this regard. 14

Access to activities, programs and calendar of the National Council **(3)**

Of great significance during both the survey and the National Council was the provision in section 11(c) of the Regional Councils Act, 1992 that restricts regional councils from convening a meeting during any period during which the National Council is in session.

Within the context of public participation, this provision allows the regional representative in the National Council an opportunity to be part of any regional meetings, thereby creating an opportunity for both the constituents, councillors and other interested parties to interact with their representative in the National Council during recess.

However, the participants during the survey and the National Conference were concerned that this was never the case and that in fact, this provision was making the work of the regional councils difficult. The regions do not have the National Council calendar, which often is dependent on the National Assembly calendar. The absence of a calendar has made it difficult for the regions to plan meetings. Secondly, the delegates sent to Windhoek to represent the regions in the National Council were not bringing back the feedback needed by the regional councils.

The participants therefore requested the development of a joint National Assembly and National Council parliamentary calendar that will be circulated to the regions at the beginning of each year or session. In addition to the general calendar, participants also recommended that the calendar be updated regularly and copies circulated to the regions and other stakeholders. Except for isolated instances, Local Authorities and NGO's were equally concerned that they had no access to a parliamentary program and that this hampered prospects for their participation in the formulation of legislation and government policies.

As an institution representing geographical constituencies, participants were of the view that the development of a parliamentary calendar would also assist the regional and local stakeholders to prepare for participation in the different processes taking place in the National Council and the various parliamentary committees. While a parliamentary calendar was considered a priority, Regional Councils and Local Authorities were also advised to develop similar calendars and circulate them amongst themselves, but also with major stakeholders, such as Traditional Authorities, NGO's, CBO's, business, labour, churches, schools and the general public.

(4) Flow of information between the National Council and the Regions

¹⁴ See also Agenda for Change

The survey and the National Conference both commended the National Council for taking the initiative to consult the regions on the access to the National Council and identifying the potential and challenges for information flow between the National Council, the Regional Councils, Local and Traditional Authorities and ultimately the public.

However, participants in virtually all the regions and at the National Conference urged the National Council to enhance communication between Windhoek and the regions. Of particular concern was the lack of legislative information in the regions and failure of the National Council to circulate draft legislation to the regions before taking a decision.

One participants made the following observation, "If National Council members could obtain the bills in their draft forms and disseminate them to the regional councils, councillors and their electorates would have ample time to study the bills and give their inputs in good time. The circulation of the Parliament's agenda to the Regional Councils would give an indication of when the different bills would be tabled. That would enable us on the regional level to inquire about the bills when their dates for discussion drew closer," observed one participant during the Hardap Regional Workshop.

While this view corresponds with the request to develop and circulate a parliamentary calendar, participants during both the regional survey and the National Conference wanted more information flow from the National Council. An acknowledgement was made that the authors of the Constitution had fulfilled their duties by providing for the establishment of a regional based National Council in Parliament, however, the challenge was for the elected members to make the institution work and ensure that the National Council was not becoming an obstacle of information flow and public participation, but rather a facilitating institution.

Participants, particularly government officials operating in the regions were equally concerned that while they are expected to implement government policy, their access to legislative and policy information was limited, and at times non-existent. The National Council was therefore urged to devise mechanisms that would facilitate information flow during the development of legislation and government policy, and more importantly when bills are passed or policy decisions are taken.¹⁵

(5) Flow of information between the different regional councils

The Regional Councils Act makes provision for regional cooperation on issues of development and sharing of resources. While this provision has the potential to facilitate exchange of information, expertise and resources, participants during both the survey and the National Conference were concerned that links between different regions were non-existent, or in the best case, minimal and inconsistent. While most participants were of the view that the regions had a lot in common when it came to the development needs of their respective regions, it was noted that regions were not always aware of developments, resources and expertise in other regions,

¹⁵ See also Decentralisation and Public Participation in the Legislative Process by Dr. Mukwena, University of Namibia

and that in some cases this led to unnecessary duplication and a waste of resources by reinventing initiatives that had already been undertaken in other regions.

As a national institution, participants were of the view that the National Council would also facilitate greater inter-regional information sharing. Since the National Council consists of representatives from all regions, meeting regularly, participants considered the institution strategically positioned to advise central government on the development needs of the respective regions, and also to advise central government on the impact of legislation on the respective regions, based on sound research and public input. While advising central government and the National Assembly on the development needs and the impact of government policies, the National Council was also considered strategic in advising the regions on the same, and drawing up regional comparative analysis on the impact, advantages and disadvantages of legislation.

Commenting on the need for inter-regional cooperation and information sharing the Governor for the Omaheke Regional Council made the following comment, "the Omaheke Regional Council is not operating in isolation because the Council is fully aware that isolation leads to deterioration and deterioration leads to stagnation and stagnation leads to destruction of operations." The Governor urged regional councils to strengthen their information base and share technical resources and experience, as this was the only practical and sustainable method for sustainable skills development, and that the failure of one region would mean the failure of all the regions.

(6) The role of Regional Councils in facilitating public participation

"The Regional Council Act has a wonderful provision, which provides that a member of the public may observe the discussions of the Council. Despite many efforts to make our people aware of this provision, since the inception of our Regional Council, we have not witnessed any participation of the public in the Regional Council's meetings," observed one Regional Governor.

There was consensus during both the survey and the National Conference that public participation was the seedbed for sustainable development and a fundamental ingredient for the entrenchment of democracy. However, as highlighted in the previous chapters, meaningful public participation entails access to information, an opportunity to articulate and express views, and finally a guarantee that the views expressed matter, and that they will make a difference.¹⁶

The public in virtually all the regions was keen to participate in the legislative and policy development process; however, the legal language used in draft legislation was incapacitating a significant portion of the citizenry from active participation. Secondly, while participants did not have a problem with English as the main medium, there was a recurring view that efforts should be made to translate draft legislation into indigenous languages and it was within this context that the role of the regions in facilitating public participation became vital.

¹⁶ David Mathews: Politics for the People, Finding a Responsible Public Voice

Since the regions have geographical constituencies, participants were of the view that the decentralised regional councils through their membership would facilitate public participation and the sharing of information, based on indigenous languages spoken in the respective constituencies. Secondly, while it was acknowledged that some parliamentary committees and government ministries had conducted public hearings in some parts of the country, it was observed that these public forums had often taken place in towns and major centres. This being the case, participants recommended the maximum utilization of regional councillors to facilitate public participation, since their structure permeated throughout the regions, covering cities, towns, rural and remote areas, and that the input sought from this process would be channelled back to Parliament through the National Council.

Participants were cognizant of the challenges faced by parliamentary committees and government ministries in terms of logistics and lack of infrastructure in some remote parts of the country, however, the survey and the National Conference were informed that even in the remotest areas, structures of governance existed either as regional authorities, local authorities or traditional authorities. In addition, there exists a regional development committee in each region which is representative of different stakeholders and is always in consultation with the constituents, and that these structures could be utilized to facilitate greater and informed public participation.

The National Conference was requested that if meaningful public participation is to be attained and co-facilitated by the regional councils, the public comment or public participation periods should be considered and if possible extended, to ensure that the review process is open and that there is space for the public to participate in the development of legislation.¹⁷ An example was given from the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, whereby Rule 249. (1) Of the Standing Rules of the National Assembly provides that "If a Bill has been published for public comment in terms of Rule 241 or 258, the Assembly committee to which the Bill is referred must arrange its business in such a manner that interested persons and institutions have an opportunity to comment on the Bill." Commented one participant.

It was concluded that in a country such as Namibia, the government is only one element coexisting with other institutions, such as political parties, organizations and associations representing different interest groups and that these civic organizations' exist in terms of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of their members and that they are therefore the channels through which their respective members can exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens of Namibia. These organizations have a responsibility to educate their members on issues affecting them, to formulate the ideas and concerns of its members and promote a spirit of tolerance for the views of others. While these different groups exist with different structures, some of them National, but most of them local, the Regional Councils and the regional based National Council were the only conduits for them to participate in the policy and legislative development process.

Chapter 12, Article 108 of the Namibian Constitution was also hailed as a provision that entrenches public participation in Namibia's democracy. Article 108 allows the Regional Councils to pass by laws to govern their respective regions. Secondly, the constitution makes

¹⁷ A Khomas Regional Perspective presented by the Regional Governor, Hon. Pandeni

provision for private member bills. According to the participants, both avenues had not been adequately explored and the National Council was requested to take a lead in ensuring that regional proposals are translated into draft legislation and introduced into Parliament.

(7) Public participation in the context of Decentralisation

During the regional survey, "Decentralisation" and the implications therefore were among the key issues raised by the participants. The National Conference therefore looked at decentralisation and public participation within the context of the development of decentralisation related policies and their implementation. The National Conference critically looked at the concept of decentralisation within the Namibian context, as the term had been widely and differently defined by different analysts. The conference also noted that decentralisation can take many forms or degrees, and that the concept of decentralisation is more complex than it is often recognised in the literature or in policy statements

For purposes of the National Conference and public participation, the Conference adopted a broader view of decentralisation, as the transfer of powers or functions of government from the national level to any sub-national level". Decentralisation in this context was conceived as a multi-dimensional concept, referring to "the transfer or delegation of legal and political authority to plan, make decisions and manage public functions form the central government and its agencies to Regional Councils and other institutions at a regional level, including subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area-wide or regional development authorities, functional authorities, autonomous local governments, or non-governmental organisations'.

In his remarks, the key note speaker at the National Conference, Dr. Mukwena from the University of Namibia outlined different forms and degrees of decentralisation, among them was the common form known as decentralisation or deconcentration, and then delegation and finally devolution. Dr. Mukwena informed the Conference that deconcentration is the most limited form of decentralisation, which basically involves the shifting of workload from central government ministerial headquarters to staff located in offices outside of the national capital and that through deconcentration, staff may not be given the authority to decide how these functions are to be performed. A more extensive degree of deconcentration can be achieved, on the other hand, through a strengthening of regional administration.

In contrast to deconcentration, Dr. Mukwena informed the Conference that delegation basically entails "the transfer or creation of broad authority to plan and implement decisions concerning specific activities — or a variety of activities within specific spatial boundaries — to an organisation that is technically and administratively capable of carrying them out.

Devolution by far the most ambitious form of decentralisation, involves, among other features the giving of autonomy and independence to local units (such as regional and local governments), which are allowed to exist as separate levels over which central authorities exercise little or no direct control. Devolution was the form of decentralisation that most participants gathered at the National Conference were interested in because of its role in facilitating public participation in local and national affairs.

Conference participants were informed that there exists a direct link between decentralisation and public participation. Among the key reasons for decentralisation is that "decentralisation may allow greater representation for various political, special interest and ethnic groups in the development and implementation of legislation and government policy, and hence could lead to greater equity in the allocation of government resources and investments, said Dr. Mukwena. Furthermore, decentralisation provides a practical tool through which development programmes and projects that are appropriate and acceptable to the communities are designed and implemented," observed Hon. Pandeni, Regional Governor for Khomas Region. In conclusion, it was highlighted that decentralisation has the potential to provide a framework through which communities can directly or indirectly participate in policy formulation and implementation.

It was therefore recommended that the government initiative of developing and implementing the "Decentralisation Enabling Bill" should be considered as a positive step and that the challenge was with the regions and the National Council to ensure that this legislation and its related policies were embraced by the communities and used to facilitate greater public participation.

(8) The role of Information Technology in facilitating public participation

During the regional workshops, different mechanisms were identified as mediums for facilitating public participation. These mechanisms included individual interviews, workshops, committee hearings, publications, surveys and opinion polls. However, in most of these processes, there was a general view that little public participation took place, often because these were used more as public information dissemination processes and not necessarily public participation processes.

Secondly, it was also observed during both the surveys and the National Conference that the unavailability of legislative information in the regions was in itself an impediment to public participation. Several factors were identified as potentially contributing to the unavailability of legislative information in the regions and the lack of feedback to Parliament. During the survey and the National Conference, participants considered various options that would be used in facilitating public participation, sharing of information and ultimately achieving Parliament's constitutional obligation of being the people's voice at the same time working towards achieving the goals set out in the Agenda for Change. Participants considered the following options as mediums for sharing information and facilitating public participation:

- Newspapers;
- Parliamentary publications, such as the debate;
- Wide circulation of Parliament Order Papers:
- Radio:
- Television:
- Fax Broadcasting;
- Electronic Mail (e-mail); and
- The Internet

For each option, participants considered the following:

- Advantages and disadvantages;
- Requirements for the successful implementation and utilisation of each medium;
- Financial and technical implications for each medium;
- Accessibility of each medium by the general public;
- Sustainability of the mediums;
- A cost benefit analysis for each medium; and
- The level and quality of public participation facilitated by each medium.

The tables below illustrate the feedback and views of participants on the options highlighted above:

Newspapers	
Advantages	Newspapers are distributed widely and daily, in addition, Journalists posses skills to report on Parliament
Disadvantages	Newspapers are not obliged to report on Parliament and reporting is not consistent. Secondly, newspapers are written in a few languages and they do not allow for wide feedback, except for a few people who express their views in the paper. Participants were equally concerned that the circulation is limited to Cities and Towns and that newspapers rarely reach rural communities, and if they do, it is usually late. Bills are usually long, and can not be adequately covered in a newspaper, and lastly, elected representatives have no control over the independent media or newspapers
Costs vs. Benefits	Newspapers are for profit, and with the challenges highlighted above; they cannot guarantee the anticipated results, in terms of increased and informed public participation.
Impact on Legislation	

Parliamentary Order Papers	
Advantages	They capture the daily parliamentary proceedings
Disadvantages	Their circulation is limited. Order papers are produced and sometimes changed at the last minute. Order papers are only produced in English and there is no mechanism to circulate them widely. In addition, they would not be of significant benefit to people outside of Windhoek in terms of timely feedback
Costs vs. Benefits	Order papers are sizeable documents and easy to produce for circulation, but would yield meagre results in terms of increasing and facilitating public participation outside of Windhoek
Impact on Legislation	Order papers have the potential to notify the public on the business of Parliament, and therefore attract increased participation

Parliamentary Debate		
Advantages	Parliament has full editorial rights and it is produced in-house.	
Disadvantages	Limited circulation only published in English and would be too big if	
	it were to contain detailed legislation and policy-related information,	
	and the other parliamentary information that participants sought.	
Costs vs.	As a magazine, it is a periodic publication and if it were to be	
Benefits	published frequently for purposes of facilitating public participation,	
	there is no guarantee that the investment would yield the intended	
	results, due to language barriers, limited circulation etc. and the cost	
	would be high, therefore a challenge to sustain.	
Impact on	The debate provides the public access to developments in Parliament,	
Legislation	however, participants during the survey were not familiar with the	
	publication, therefore its impact on legislation could not be evaluated	

Radio	
Advantages	By far the most widely accessible medium, and the National
	Broadcaster and the various community radios have managed to
	address the language barrier issue. According to the participants,
	radio is the most effective medium at the moment.
Disadvantages	Parliament has no control over Radio, and therefore could not
	guarantee them as a sustainable medium for public participation.
	While radio has contributed towards disseminating legislative
	information and as a voice of the people through open lines and
	public forums, there was little structured feedback to Parliament.
Costs vs.	Radio can facilitate public participation widely and the costs are
Benefits	minimal
Impact on	Radio has the potential to facilitate two way communication, thereby
Legislation	sending feedback to Parliament on legislative matters, while keeping
	the public informed on legislative issues and providing analytical
	perspectives on bills.

Television		
Advantages	TV already has the infrastructure to cover Parliament and has	
	allocated time when Parliament is in session to broadcast a summary	
	of the proceedings every evening.	
Disadvantages	TV signals are not available in some parts of the country and a	
	significant rural majority does not have TV sets and electricity. While	
	TV succeeds in disseminating information, TV does not provide an	
	avenue for feedback and does not cover a specific bill in detail.	
Costs vs.	TV is costly and would do not guarantee increased participation by	
Benefits	the majority of the people. Secondly, Parliament has no control over	
	the program content.	
Impact on	TV is a mechanism for transparency and accountability. It is a	
Legislation	mechanism that gives a significant portion of the Namibian	
	population access to the proceedings of parliament.	

Fax Broadcasting	
Advantages	Fully owned by Parliament and can reach a significant portion of civil
	society and different key stakeholders. Most institutions in the
	country have a fax machine that can receive Fax Broadcasts.
Disadvantages	Would have a significant increase on the Parliament telephone line
	bill if used to send large documents such as bills, order papers etc. to
	the general public. No guarantee that all fax pages will be received by
	the recipients and costly when there are changes in the content of the
	document being sent, requiring a "re-send." Fax Broadcasting cannot
	reach the ordinary person in the rural community.
Costs vs.	Very costly, but participants during the survey and the National
Benefits	Conference committed to circulate the information in the regions
	once received.
Impact on	Fax broadcasting would ensure that regional stakeholders have
Legislation	legislative information on time and that they would instead circulate
	the information and solicit public input. Fax broadcasting would also
	facilitate information sharing between National Council MPs and the
	regions, thereby increasing accountability.

Electronic Mail (e-mail);
Advantages	Very fast and can handle large volumes of paper. There are e-mail
	facilities in every Regional Council office and feedback from the
	Regions can be instant and guaranteed
Disadvantages	The average Namibian does not have e-mail and computer skills to
	access electronic mail. There are no computers and electricity in rural
	areas where the majority of the people live.
Costs vs.	Taking advantage of the Telecom Namibia digital data network
Benefits	across the country (the first in Africa), Parliament can utilise e-mail
	to send information to the regions, where the information can be
	distributed to interested stakeholders as the Governors committed
	during the National Conference. Secondly, the large volumes sent to
	the regions by post could be sent more efficiently and timely via e-
	mail at a minimal cost
Impact on	\mathcal{I}
Legislation	council office, e-mail would provide an important tool for the sharing
	of information between the regional delegation to the National
	Council and their respective regions. This would also close the
	communication gap between the National Council MPs and their
	regions.

Internet	
Advantages	Widely accessed, every Regional Council has access to the Internet, it
	can be accessed from any part of the country, any time of the

	day/week, and is a practical tool to provide continued two-way access to elected representatives who may not be at their base of operation and their respective institutions. Internet has the ability to store and provide large amounts of legislative and regional information, small and large documents and is a practical tool for research. Access to the Internet is instant and relatively cheap. Large volumes of information can be exchanged and printed instantly for a fraction of a postal charge.
Disadvantages	Limited access, the average Namibian does not have access to a
	computer and electricity. The Internet requires skills at both the sender and recipient levels that are not available at the moment.
Costs vs.	1
	The cost of establishing a Parliamentary Knowledge and Data bank
Benefits	on the Internet is relatively low compared to the information sharing
	that the system can guarantee. The Internet has instant feedback
	mechanisms with no extra cost for Parliament. Participants during the
	survey highlighted feedback as a significant motivating factor for
	increased public participation
Impact on	The Internet will provide unhindered access to Parliament and
Legislation	parliamentary processes in both houses, thereby allowing the public
	an opportunity to follow the different stages of a bill and make
	contributions. The Internet is one medium that can produce
	quantifiable results in terms of increased public participation

Among the different options listed above, it was identified during the survey and the National Conference that none of the options was in itself a perfect fit for Parliament and the public participation initiative under discussion. However, it was also noted that the ideal situation could have been to engage every member of the public in discussions when Parliament was considering legislation, however, this was said to be unrealistic as it was practically impossible, therefore the conference considered the options whose advantages significantly outweighed the disadvantages. On that basis, it was recommended that a combination of a few practical options should be considered to facilitate primarily information flow and thereafter provide public access to Parliament.

Participants acknowledged the fact that there is no single mechanism that can facilitate public participation for over 1.6 million at a time. However, Parliament was requested to utilise existing structures of governance at a National, Regional, Local and Traditional Authority level, and that by deploying a mechanisms that would guarantee information flow to, from and between these institutions, Parliament would have gone a long way in reaching out to the public.

"In order to strengthen the link between Councillors and the colleagues serving in the National Council, a mechanism like a computer website is needed to have constant communication for exchanging views, opinions and concerns. Regional Councillors need capacity building, empowerment in order to improve their performance in rending effective services to the communities in their respective constituencies," reiterated the Governor of Otjozodjupa Region, Hon. Claudia Grace Uushona

(IV) Conclusion

As highlighted in this report, different analysts have defined the concept of "public participation" differently and it is not an easy concept to define. However, it is a concept that is embedded in the Constitution of Namibia, it is a concept that is embedded in the Regional Council and Local Authorities Act, and it is a concept that the authors of the Agenda for Change emphasized in sections: 4.19 - 4.23, among other recommendations.

According to the views of individuals that participated in the regional survey and the National Conference, public participation in the context of parliamentary democracy was understood to be "the involvement of citizens (or communities) in the planning, implementation and evaluation of public policies, but it is important to note that participants were cognizant and accepted the fact that public participation takes different forms, and that at times the public may participate directly, while in other cases, the public might participate indirectly through elected representatives.¹⁸ However, participants in virtually all the regions were not in favor of reducing public participation to the election process.

From consultations with individual Members of Parliament, the regional survey and National Conference participants, it is undisputed that public participation is the foundation upon which sustainable democracy has to be built. "Without public participation we cannot talk of genuine and effective democracy," concluded the Governor of Khomas Region. Notably, the Honorable Governor's remarks underscore the recommendations of the Agenda for Change and other research products, such as the recent report by the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing on the Capacity Assessment of Regional Councils in Namibia.

Conference participants noted that effective public participation involves elected representatives consulting citizens before taking decisions on matters involving their lives. It also entails the participation of people in implementing these decisions and evaluating the outcomes. Public participation is therefore fundamental to democratic governance. "Indeed, if democracy is "government of the people, for the people, by the people", then participation is the foundation upon which to build a viable and genuine democracy," said the Governor of Oshana Regional Council. On the other hand, there was overall consensus that the decentralisation process which provides structures through which the public can participate in local and national affairs including the formulation of legislation is vital for the establishment of sustainable democracy at a grassroots level.

Conference participants noted that the Constitution of Namibia makes provisions for public participation in the legislative process through decentralised structures, one of the most relevant institutions within this structure being the National Council, which comprises of two regional councilors from each of the thirteen regions. Through the National Council and regional councils, communities can participate in the formulation of legislation.

The provision of structures within the Regional Councils Act, such as Community Development Committees, through which members of the public can influence and shape legislation via the

-

¹⁸ Article 17 of the Namibian Constitution

regional councils and the National Council was also seen as a practical mechanism for facilitating public participation and entrenching democracy in Namibia. Of course participants acknowledged that these structures need strengthening so that they can become more effective. The challenge was therefore placed upon the regional councils and the members of the National Council to ensure that they do not become obstacles to public participation, but rather active facilitators. While elected representatives have a pivotal role to play, it was also agreed that among other measures, members of the public need to be made aware of how they can effectively utilise the structures provided by the Constitution, which have since been established.

While Namibia has made significant progress in establishing democratic institutions, creating capacities and thereby laying the foundation for good governance and the rule of law, participants observed that this progress had not yet translated itself into meaningful improvement in the lives of the Namibian people. Therefore the challenges of social development and empowerment in Namibia requires the active participation of all sectors of the Namibian Society, including Government, Private and Civil Society sectors.¹⁹

In per capita terms (US\$4 300) Namibia was among the upper-middle-income countries, yet the experience of most Namibians has been that of outright poverty or of continuing vulnerability to being poor. In addition, the distribution of income and wealth in Namibia has remained among the most unequal in the world, and many households still have unsatisfactory access to education, health care, energy and clean water. In this context, the marginalisation of women in the decision making process is another significant challenge. While women comprise about 60% of the informal sector and about 70% of the agricultural sector. Given their experience, women have different priorities in terms of services, infrastructure and equipment, yet their participation in the legislative and policy decision making process remains limited or non-existent. In the service of the context of the process remains limited or non-existent.

While it was generally understood that the government does not have the resources, or the expertise, to provide all the services that people might want at a given time, it was important for Parliament to ensure that the available resources were used for the best of the Namibian people, and that this could only be determined if government spending and priorities were guided by the beneficiaries, and if the beneficiaries themselves took as much responsibility as possible during the design and implementation of policies, programs and projects. It was observed that this would be possible if Parliament institutionalized its public participation initiative as was demonstrated through the organization of the survey and the National Conference. "Public participation promotes legitimacy and public support for legislation and government policies, and thereby ensures democratic stability and growth," commented one participant during the Conference.

Participants during the survey and the National Conference unanimously agreed that because public participation gives people power to influence and understand the decisions that affect their lives, the practice reduces a feeling of alienation and powerlessness. However, it was also noted

¹⁹ This was the view of NANGOF on behalf of the Namibian NGO Sector, presented by Uhuru Dempers, Executive Director of NANGOF.

²⁰ World Fact Book 1999 estimates. **GDP - per capita:** purchasing power parity

²¹ Presentation by the Minister of Women and Child Welfare, Hon. Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah.

that public participation might have little value if it is based on terms defined by others and imposed on the public. An example was given of a scenario whereby the political leadership imposed a candidate for regional council elections to a particular constituency, in this scenario the principles of public participation were violated. Elections in this instance had been abused to authenticate the "selected" candidate.

Public Participation leads to a sense of responsibility for a policy, programme or project. When people take an active part in policy formulation, the planning and/or implementation of programmes or projects, they consider such policies, programmes and projects to be collectively their own, and therefore the public takes pride in such initiatives and take responsibility which leads to the sustainability of such initiatives. The conference unanimously agreed that public participation legitimizes government initiatives in the eyes of the citizenry.

For this reason and many others, the Conference unanimously adopted that the role of public participation in the legislative process should be taken seriously and institutionalized within the context of the Agenda for Change, the Regional Survey Outcomes and the National Conference recommendations. The conference agreed that while public participation was a prerequisite for sustainable democracy, there was not single prescription, but rather guidelines and principles that elected representatives should adhere to. These principles and guidelines are critical as they have the potential to credibility in the work of elected representatives, the National Council in particular, identify public concerns and values and develop a consensus.

By creating an open and visible decision making process to which every Namibian has equal access, Parliament/government decisions and policies will receive support and credibility from the public and groups that have highly divergent viewpoints.

Because different groups in different regions have fundamentally different needs and viewpoints, these groups will continue to evaluate any proposed legislation or policy from a different perspective. The National Council public participation initiative will therefore assist Parliament and government in general to understand regional problems, issues and possible solutions from a particular regional perspective. The commitment by all regional governors to embrace the enhanced public participation initiative is therefore a much-welcomed development.

Noting that there exists divergent regional, sectoral and political viewpoints on legislation and policy proposals, no single philosophy can guide National Council positions on legislation and policy proposals. However, the fact that the citizens of Namibia will play an integral role in the formulation of legislation and policy through the mechanisms agreed upon during the survey and the National Conference will go a long way in legitimizing the National Council legislative process in particular, and parliamentary democracy in Namibia in general.

Appendices: (1) Regional Survey Terms of Reference

- (2) Regional Workshop Agenda
- (3) National Conference Terms of Reference
- (4) National Conference Agenda

(Appendix 1)

Regional Workshops Overview

Since its inception in February 1993, the National Council has been striving to serve the people of Namibia and fulfilling the Council's constitutional mandate. Since 1993, the National Council has considered legislation passed by the National Assembly, and some of this legislation has been accepted without amendments while some legislation has been accepted with recommended amendments. During the same process, some legislation has been rejected and returned to the National Assembly.

Since members of the National Council are elected from regional councils, the institution is unique in the legislative process of the country because it is the only legislative institution with geographical constituencies. Through the regional structures, the National Council is strategically placed to serve as a conduit between citizens' voices and Parliament, an institution where the regions are given an opportunity to make input and scrutinize government policies. The National Council provides a forum for regional debate and consensus, thereby contributing to increased public participation in the legislative process.

The constitution provides clear guidelines on the goals and objectives of the National Council. However, just like any developing institution, the National Council has its own set of challenges. Being the only institution made up of constituencies, the National Council has the constitutional obligation to solicit and incorporate the views of the public into national legislation. Therefore the quality and strength of democracy in Namibia largely depends on the quality and extent of efforts to solicit public input into national legislation.

For the National Council to achieve meaningful and constructive public input into legislation, the public needs opportunities to listen, question and express their opinion on national legislation. The public needs information and an understanding on the benefits and implications of national legislation on their lives and communities. The regional councils are therefore well placed to facilitate public dialogue on national legislation.

However, the success of these processes depends on the political and administrative support that the National Council receives from all the regions. Therefore the success of the National Council legislative process largely depends on the availability of human, technical and financial recourses at a regional level.

It is within this context that the Chairman of the National Council undertook the initiative to visit all the regions, and thereafter assigned National Council Staff, with the support of NDI to conduct a regional survey, to identify the views and issues regarding the National Council legislative process at both the National and Regional levels. The survey is aimed at achieving several objectives, among them, the National Council seeks to identify lessons that will strengthen the National Council's legislative process and foster informed regional and public participation in the country's legislative process. Secondly, the National Council seeks to strengthen communication links with the Regional Councils, and to explore ways of using Computer Technologies to facilitate inter-regional communication, and communication between

the National Council and its stakeholders, thereby facilitating greater participation in the legislative process.

The survey has been conducted through two methods, the first method being the questionnaires, soliciting views, concerns and issues from the regions and the different stakeholders. After completing the questionnaires, the workshop is a follow up on the issues raised through the questionnaires and an opportunity for the regions to ask questions and exchange ideas on strengthening the links between Parliament and the Regions, and between the Regions themselves.

(Appendix 2)

National Council Regional Workshops Agenda

08:00	Registration
09:00	Welcome Remarks (Regional Governor)
09:15	Introduction and Workshop Objectives (G. Shinyala, Chief Control Officer in the National Council)
09:30	A Reflection on the Regional Survey (Foster Mijiga, NDI Namibia)
10:00	Overview of the Legislative Process in Namibia and the Role of the National Council (G. Shinyala, Chief Control Officer in the National Council)
11:00	<u>Tea Break</u>
11:30	Question and Answer Session
12:00	Panel Discussion on Public Participation in the Legislative Process and Structures of Public Participation (Adv. Akumu, Director, NDI Namibia, Pero Nampila, NDI Namibia)
13:00	<u>LUNCH</u>
14:00	Public and Regional Participation in the Legislative Process and the Role of Information Technology in facilitating and enhancing Public Participation (Foster Mijiga, NDI Namibia)
15:30	TEA BREAK
15:45	Question and Answer Session
16:00	Recommendations and the Way Forward (G. Shinyala, Chief Control Officer in the National Council)
16:15	Closing Remarks (Regional Governor)

(Appendix 3)

National Council of the Parliament of Namibia

History of the National Council

The first National Council (NC) was constituted in February 23,1993 after the first Regional Elections that were held from November 30 to December 3, 1992. Members of the Second National Council were sworn-in on February 15, 1999, after the Regional Elections that took place in December 1998.

The NC consists of two (2) members from each region of Namibia. Each region is divided into between six (6) and twelve (12) single electoral constituencies. Aspirant members of the Regional Councils must contest and win elections at constituency level.

The winners of the various constituencies within a specific region come together to constitute the principal governing body of the region, the Regional Council. Each Regional Council then elects two (2) members from its midst to represent it at the NC.

Currently Namibia is divided into thirteen (13) regions, this means that the NC has twenty-six (26) members. The term of office of members is six (6) years. The seat of the NC is at Parliament Building in the capital, Windhoek.

National Conference Terms of Reference

The following Terms of Reference provide background information for the National Conference taking place from the 24th to the 25th of October 2000 in the city of Windhoek. The two day conference focusing on strengthening the link between Parliament and the Public is an initiative of the National Council which is also aimed at assessing the role of the National Council after 10 years of democratic governance in Namibia.

Introduction

Since its inception in February 1993, the National Council has been striving to serve the people of Namibia and fulfilling the Council's constitutional mandate. In pursuing this goal, the National Council has reviewed legislation passed by the National Assembly since 1993 and in the process, legislation has been accepted without amendments while some legislation has been accepted with recommended amendments. During the same process, some legislation has been rejected and returned to the National Assembly.

In addition to pursuing the Council's constitutional role as a house of legislative review, the National Council has continued to serve as a forum for a regional caucus, an institution where all

the Regions of Namibia are given an opportunity to directly articulate regional views on legislation individually or collectively with other regions.

The constitutional role and functions of the National Council provide a practical framework for taking the Parliament of Namibia closer to the people. Since members of the National Council are directly elected from regional councils, the institution is unique in the legislative process, as it is the only legislative institution with membership representing geographical constituencies in Namibia.

Through the regional structures, the Constitution places the National Council in a strategic position to serve as a conduit between citizens' voices and Parliament, an institution where the regions are given an opportunity to make input and scrutinize government policies. Within this context, the National Council provides a forum for regional debate and consensus, thereby contributing to increased public participation in the legislative process.

The constitution provides clear guidelines on the goals and objectives of the National Council. However, just like any developing institution, the National Council has its own set of challenges. Being the only institution made up of constituencies, the National Council has the constitutional obligation to solicit and incorporate the views of the public into national legislation. Therefore the quality and strength of democracy in Namibia largely depends on the quality and extent of efforts to solicit public input into national legislation.

For the National Council to achieve meaningful and constructive public input into legislation, individuals and institutions in a particular region need opportunities to listen, question and express their opinions on national legislation. The public needs information and an understanding of the benefits and implications of national legislation on their lives, their communities and their respective regions.

As institutions of governance, directly represented in Parliament, the Regional Councils are well placed to facilitate public dialogue on national legislation, soliciting and facilitating input from local and traditional authorities, non-governmental organizations; community based organizations, the general public and other interested parties at a regional level.

From this Constitutional arrangement, one can conclude that structures for public participation in the legislative process truly exist in Namibia. The challenge is to ensure that these structures are operating efficiently and to identify mechanisms that will strengthen these structures.

In addition to the political structures of public participation established by the Constitution, the success of public participation also depends on the administrative capacity at a regional, local and traditional authority level. Therefore the success of the National Council legislative process largely depends on the availability of human, technical and financial recourses at a regional level and within other key institutions in a particular region.

It is within this context that the Chairman of the National Council undertook the initiative to visit all the regions in 1999, and thereafter assigned National Council Staff, with the support of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) to conduct a regional survey and

identify views and opinions, concerns and issues regarding the National Council legislative process at both the National and Regional levels.

Strengthening the link between Parliament and the Public (The Regional Survey)

The regional survey was aimed at achieving several objectives, among them, the National Council sought to identify lessons that would strengthen the National Council's legislative process and foster informed regional and public participation in the country's legislative process. Secondly, the National Council sought to strengthen communication links with the Regional Councils, and to explore ways of using Computer Technologies to facilitate inter-regional communication, and communication between the National Council and its stakeholders, thereby facilitating greater participation in the legislative process.

Starting from April 2000, the National Council embarked on a nation-wide survey, consulting major stakeholders including all thirteen Regional Councils, Local and Traditional Authorities within each region, business, labour, Non-Governmental and Community Based Organisations through NANGOF and in other cases directly through the Regional Councils.

The survey was aimed at identifying the following key issues:

- Mechanisms for enhancing public participation in Namibia's Legislative Process, in particular through the regions and the National Council;
- Mechanisms for enhancing communication between Parliament and the regions;
- Mechanisms for enhancing communication between the regions and the public; and
- Mechanisms for enhancing information flow between Parliament, the regions and the public.

The National Council with assistance from NDI developed a questionnaire that was sent to all Regional Councils, Local and Traditional Authorities, Non-Governmental and Community Based Organisations and the different stakeholders as determined by their respective Regional Councils.

The questionnaire formed the first part of a regional survey process that was followed by regional workshops conducted in all thirteen regions starting from May 29, 2000 through to June 29, 2000. The regional workshops were the second phase of the survey process followed by the October 2000 National Conference

During the first phase of the regional survey, the questionnaire reached an estimated 420 people in all thirteen regions of Namibia and 63% responded. During the second phase of the regional survey, 560 people attended the regional workshops on the following dates:

29 May 2000	Omusati Regional Council Kunene Regional Council
30 May 2000	Oshana Regional Council
12 June 2000	Oshikoto Regional Workshop

	Kavango Regional Workshop Caprivi Regional Workshop
13 June 2000	Ohangwena Regional Council
19 June 2000	Karas Regional Workshop
20 June 2000	Hardap Regional Worksop
22 June 2000	Erongo Regional Workshop
26 June 2000	Khomas Regional Workshop Otjozodjupa Regional Council
29 June 2000	Omaheke Regional Workshop

Participants during the regional workshops included Regional Governors, Regional and Local Councilors, Traditional Leaders, representatives of non-governmental and community based organizations, members of the Namibian Defense and Police Forces, civil servants and students.

While the regional workshops succeeded in bringing together different stakeholders at a regional level to discuss and identify ways of strengthening participation in the legislative process and access to Parliament, the National Conference is expected to provide a forum where all regional players will be brought together, to explore and identify a national strategy that will facilitate greater access between elected representatives and their respective constituencies.

By sharing different experiences, challenges and opportunities, the National Conference will take stock of the Ten Years of Democracy in Namibia, while developing mechanisms that will strengthen Parliament in the 21st Century. The National Conference will bring together elected representatives from both Houses of Parliament, elected representatives at a regional and local level, traditional authorities, civil society and representatives of different government departments to deliberate on the following:

- Regional Participation in the legislative process;
- Regional access to the National Council;
- Regional access to Members of the National Council;
- Regional access to legislative information in Parliament;
- Regional access to Parliament calendars, programs and activities;
- Decentralization and the role of the regions in the legislative and policy development process;
- MPs access to the regions;
- Sharing of legislative information between different regions;
- Dissemination of legislative information in the regions;
- Public access to legislative information through regional councils;
- Public access to legislative information through local and traditional authorities;

- The role of government departments in disseminating information pertaining to draft legislation;
- Plain language bills and draft legislation;
- Public hearings, potential and challenges;
- The role of the National Council in the legislative process;
- The legislative relationship between the National Council and the National Assembly;
- The relationship between the executive branch of government and regional government
- The role of Information Technologies in the legislative process.

The National Conference is expected to take place over a period of two days in Windhoek.

Powers and Functions of the National Council

The NC as the upper chamber of the Namibian Parliament reviews all national legislation and articulates regional interests in the National Parliament. To accomplish this double role the Namibian Constitution permits the NC to exercise the following powers and functions:

- 1. To review all bills passed by the National Assembly and submit any recommendations thereof to the Speaker.
- 2. To investigate and report on any subordinate legislation, reports and documents that have been sent to it by the National Assembly for advice.
- 3. To recommend legislation on matters of regional concern for submission to and consideration by the National Assembly.
- 4. To perform any functions assigned to it by the National Assembly or by an Act of Parliament.
- 5. To establish Committees; and
- 6. To adopt rules and procedures governing its proceedings.

Powers, Functions and Prerogatives of the National Council Chairperson

Leadership is an important factor for the orderly operation of a legislative institution. At the first meeting of each new National Council, the members elect the chairperson to preside over its sessions as required by the Namibian Constitution.

The members also elect the vice-chairperson to act as presiding officer during the unavoidable absence of the chairperson and also to assist the chairperson in carrying out his/her multiple functions

- The chairperson is expected to exercise the powers and functions listed underneath with discretion and judgement:
- Presides over sessions of the National Council and ensures that the decorum and order of the House is maintained.
- Makes rulings on questions not expressly provided for by the rules and procedures of the National Council.
- Oversees policy guidelines of the National Council and its Committees.
- Ensures the implementation of decisions and directives of the National Council.
- Acts as a link between the National Council and government offices, ministries, departments, agencies and other institutions.
- Exercises a casting vote when there is an equality of votes.
- Appoints the Secretary of the National Council subject to the provisions of the laws pertaining to the Public Service.
- Chairs the Committee of Privileges; Committee on the Standing Rules and Orders and Steering Committee.
- Welcomes and receives foreign delegations that visit the National Council.

(Appendix 4)



10 Years of Parliamentary Democracy in Namibia

National Conference

Enhancing Public Participation in the Legislative Process

24 – 25 October 2000

Day One		
08:30	Registration	
09:00	Welcome Remarks Conference Chairperson	
09:10	Opening Remarks Hon Minister Nickey Iyambo, Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing	
09:45	Conference Objectives and Goals Hon. Kandy Nehova, Chairman of the National Council	
10:00	The Legislative Process and Public Participation in Namibia <i>Hon. Mose Tjitendero, Speaker of the National Assembly</i>	
10:30	Tea Break	
11:00	Question and Answer Session	
11:30	Regional Perspectives on Public Participation in the Legislative Process. <i>Conference Chairperson</i>	
11:40	Omaheke Regional Perspective Hon. Paulo Thataone, Regional Governor	

11:50	Kunene Regional Perspective Hon Simson Tjongarero., Regional Governor
12:00	Otjozondjupa Regional Perspective Hon. Claudia Grace Uushona, Regional Governor
12:10	Karas Regional Perspective Hon. Stephanus, Regional Governor
12:20	Question and Answer Session
13:00	Lunch
14:00	Erongo Regional Perspective Hon. Samuel S Nuuyoma, Regional Governor
14:10	Ohangwena Regional Perspective Hon. B Mwaningange, Regional Governor
14:20	Oshikoto Regional Perspective Hon. Vilho Elifas S Kamanja, Regional Governor
14:30	Omusati Regional Perspective Hon. S Kayone, Regional Governor
14:40	Khomas Regional Perspective Hon. John A Pandeni, Regional Governor
14:50	Hardap Regional Perspective Hon. Karl Kisting, Regional Governor
15:00	Question and Answer Session
15:30	Tea Break
15:50	Oshana Regional Perspective Hon. Clemens H Kashuupulwa, Regional Governor
16:00	Kaprivi Regional Perspective Hon. Bernard S. Sibalantani, Regional Governor
16:10	Okavango Regional Perspective Hon. Sebastian Karupu, Regional Governor

16:20	Question and Answer Session
17:00	End of Day One
	Day Two
	Day 1 wo
08:30	A review of Day One Conference Chairperson
09:00	The Role of Parliamentary Committees in Facilitating Public Participation Hon. Rev. Willem Konjore, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly
09:30	Question and Answer Session
10:00	Public Participation in the Legislative Process, an NGO perspective <i>Uhuru Dampers, NANGOF</i>
10:15	Question and Answer Session
10:30	Tea Break
11:00	Panel Discussion
	• Public Participation in the Decentralisation Process Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Regional Local Government and Housing
	• The Role of Regional Councils in the Decentralisation Process Hon. A Kapere, President of the Association of Regional Councils (ARC)
	• The Role of Women in Policy Development and Decentralisation Margreth Mensah, Vice Chairperson of the National Council
	• Decentralisation and the Role of Elected Representatives Hon Mburumba Kerina, Member of Parliament
13:00	Lunch
14:00	The Role of Modern Technologies in facilitating Public Participation Hon. Teopolina Mushelenga, Member of Parliament Foster Mijiga, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
15:00	Tea Break
15:30	Recommendations and the Way Forward

Hon. S Kayone, Governor

17:00 Closing Remarks *Hon. Kandy Nehova*

CONSTITUENCY HANDBOOK

For

Elected Representatives in Namibia

Introduction

This handbook has been designed to assist Members of the National Council of the Parliament of Namibia with practical suggestions in organizing and conducting constituency work. As elected representatives, Members of Parliament are custodians of the "public interest." However, one of the biggest challenges for elected representatives is to identify the "public interest" and thereafter identifying strategies and solutions to address it.

This handbook does not claim to provide all the answers to all the questions; neither does it seek to identify the "public interest" and solutions thereof. This handbook seeks to provide principles rather than prescriptions, based on experience and lessons drawn from within Namibia and other democracies. The application and adaptability of these strategies and mechanisms in your constituency will depend entirely on individual elected representatives and the availability of human and financial resources in your respective constituencies. Occasionally, a concept that has been discussed under one topic might be repeated under a different topic. This might be so because the concept is relevant and important to both topics.

Just as the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, the price of democracy is continuous hard work, building and rebuilding mechanisms for expressing and facilitating the "public interest." Lack of trust and confidence in government institutions, whether rightly or wrongly, remains a challenge of democracy in modern times. Therefore establishing effective constituency programs contributes towards restoring that confidence. By providing practical mechanisms and avenues for public access to elected officials, constituency programs in return enhance democracy.

While it is a popular fact that there are many MPs in Namibia who are already active in their respective constituencies and demonstrating a commitment towards the improvement of lives of their constituents, the reality is that elected representatives can not address all the needs of their constituents at the same time, and not all the time. This handbook seeks to identify mechanisms that can promote public confidence, even when individual needs of constituents are not satisfied.

Your Constituency Work is of prime Significance

As a Member of Parliament, you have a constitutional responsibility to initiate, deliberate, review, pass, amend or reject laws that govern Namibia. This responsibility makes the work of elected representatives in Parliament very important. As a Member of Parliament, you are also responsible for ensuring that the government works efficiently and responsibly in addressing the needs of the people that elected you.

While Parliamentary work remains an integral part of your responsibilities, including other responsibilities such as your work on Parliamentary committees, participation in

Parliamentary debates and maybe even your work in the Cabinet. While all these may seem like the most important aspects of your job, it is important to always remain cognizant of the fact that work in Parliament is only half of your job as an elected representative. In actual fact, there could be more work in your constituency than in Parliament.

In reality, no one appreciates the role of constituency work as much as elected representatives, who from time to time face the constituents to elect or re-elect them into office. However, the structured constituency work outlined in this handbook is geared towards complementing your existing constituency work through the following key areas:

- Credibility: A practical constituency program creates open and visible avenues for decision making to which everyone has equal access. A constituency program also increases credibility in the decision making process as it provides a forum for the expression of divergent view points.
- Identifying public concerns and values: Because different interest groups often have fundamentally different points of view, these groups often evaluate any proposed action from a different perspective. A constituency program provides mechanisms by which the elected representative can understand the problems, issues, and possible solutions from the particular perspectives of various interest groups.
- **Developing a Consensus:** With highly divergent public viewpoints, no single philosophy can guide all actions by the Member of Parliament. A successful constituency program provides a framework for arriving at a consensus on an issue by issue basis where different philosophies emerge.
- Leader in Development: At any given time, there are different development initiatives going on in the constituency. Government, international institutions or local entities sometimes fund these development initiatives. As an elected representative, it is important to have information pertaining to development initiatives in your constituency and other constituencies, including information on potential international and local partners in development. A constituency program provides a mechanism for monitoring development initiatives and mobilizing support.
- Constituency Leader: In addition to your Parliamentary work, your constituency has daily needs and problems that require your attention. A constituency program establishes the elected representative in a structured manner, making you an organized, effective and institutionalized constituency leader, even when you are not physically present in your constituency at a particular time to address a particular issue.

Your Constituents Demand Your Services

According to perceptions and views of constituents towards their elected representatives, they know that you are in Parliament to represent them, and they expect to be able to meet with you, face-to-face, on a regular basis. Your constituents want to tell you their problems directly, and to discuss the challenges facing the people in your constituency. Public opinion research conducted by NDI has shown that most Namibians feel that the greatest responsibility of their MP is to be accessible to the electorate and articulating the views and needs of the electorate in Parliament.

According to the surveys, if you are not active and accessible in your constituency, it is difficult for you to fulfill this responsibility. In addition to the constituency demands on you, making yourself accessible to your constituents is also one of the best methods of insuring that you are re-elected into office.

You are the People's Representative

The most important principal in a democratic society is that all people have an elected representative and that decisions are taken in consultation through the representative. As the representative of all your constituents, you have a responsibility to understand the problems, concerns and priorities of your constituents, and ensure that the government works in their interest. If you are not active and engaged in your constituency, you cannot fulfill these responsibilities and your constituents are denied their democratic right to representation. In other words, constituency outreach is an essential part of your job.

One of the Priorities for your Constituents is Development

Most Namibians are concerned about local issues. Your constituents want food, water and education for their children, good health, adequate housing, good roads and access to business opportunities. Your constituents want real development in their own communities. As an elected representative, you have intimate knowledge of your constituency, and you can quickly learn what the people in your area really want and identify priorities. As an elected leader, you can help organize and initiate development projects that address the most pressing concerns of your constituents. Through a constituency program, you have information on potential partners on specific projects and as an elected representative, you have the mandate to collaborate with these partners on development and constituency issues on behalf of the constituency.

As an Elected Representative, You have Power

Being an MP gives you a great deal of stature and respect. You have the right to question civil servants and government officials about their activities in your constituency. You have access to information and resources that most citizens do not. You can negotiate with government and donors on behalf of the people you represent. You can act as a

bridge between your constituents and sometimes complex and confusing government structures and processes. Using your power for the benefit of your constituents will bring you their support and will ensure that projects are accomplished in your constituency.

In addition to being the bridge between the people and government, there are a number of non-governmental and constituency based organizations conducting work in your constituency. As an elected representative, you are in a position to collaborate with these organizations for the benefit of your constituents.

As an Elected Representative, How Do You Address Public Expectations?

Members of Parliament in Namibia face many challenges. Some of these expectations arise from previous election related messages which gave many people high expectations, some of which are impossible to fulfill in the short time that you have been in office. As representatives of the people, you are aware that there is a significant sector of the Namibian society, which lives under difficult economic and social conditions.

These citizens have pressing problems such as lack of food, they lack access to clean water and medical facilities, illiteracy and rising cost of living remains a challenge. Transportation and communication infrastructure in some constituencies is not adequate. To some Namibia's, democracy is a very new concept and many people do not yet understand what role they need to play in a democratic society. Added to these challenges is the limited amount of resources available at your disposal as an elected representative to provide or address all the needs of your constituents.

This reality is not unique to Namibia, and it is one of the factors that make the job of an elected representative challenging. On the other hand, utilizing the little resources effectively and mobilizing resources from other partners is what can make your job much easier. As an MP, you can have a real impact on the quality of life of your constituents by giving them a voice in the democratic process and encouraging development in your constituency. As an elected representative, you have the mandate to organize and mobilize resources for your constituents; the challenge of course is to identify the resources. A constituency program provides a mechanism to identify available resources and the means to solicit them.

The following section outlines some of the methods of constituency work that are being used successfully in Namibia right now. You might have tried some of these methods yourself. Others might be new to you and might give you ideas for activities in your own constituency. It is important to remember that there are no right or wrong ways of working in your constituency. Only you and your constituents can judge what works best in your area.

Constituency Development Projects

Initiating, facilitating and encouraging constituency development projects in your constituency is one of the best ways to bring benefits to your constituents and increase your popularity. Namibians are also willing in most cases to undertake development work on a self-help basis, so you can accomplish a lot with relatively little money. As one European Ambassador to Namibia with wide experience in Africa stated recently "The self-help spirit is alive in Namibia like no other country I have ever seen." You can encourage the admirable self-help ethic among your constituents and help bring noticeable benefits to the people in your constituency.

Self Help Projects

Although self-help projects are relatively inexpensive, they often fail because the little funding that is needed is not available. There are currently several institutions or funds in Namibia that specialize in funding small scale, constituency led projects. A list of these organizations has been included in this handbook. As an elected representative, you can often help groups or communities in your constituency to secure funding for projects that they have identified themselves. You can also help constituents fill out forms, provide contact information so that donor agencies can contact your constituents, or offer to oversee the projects on behalf of the donors.

Many elected representatives have already secured funding for a wide variety of projects in their constituencies. An elected representative in Omaheke Region helped his constituents to identify funding from the European Union to build a primary school. Another elected representative in the Karas Region initiated several self help projects with funding from different donor agencies, both local and international. Similar examples exist in other regions, such Oshana and Ohangwena Regions.

One elected representative in the Ojtozondjupa Region convinced a private farmer to pay for a piped water project for a local village and encouraged students and parents to assist with the project.

Once funding for self-help development projects is identified, you can often simply supply advice and encouragement for the rest of the project. Visiting the project site frequently and helping the constituency comply with the reporting requirements of the funding agency can ensure that the project is completed and that the funding agency will be willing to donate to the constituency again in the future.

As an elected representative, you can leverage the support of Non Governmental Organizations

Donor support comes and goes, and to a large extent, donor support is not sustainable. Donor support should therefore be used as a startup or a booster of existing concepts, programs and projects. Development programs belong to communities and can only be

sustained by the communities. Communities should therefore position themselves with the guidance of the elected representatives to become both the agents and beneficiaries of development.

However, as an elected representative, you can also promote development in your constituency by working with civic organizations, the common ones being non-governmental organizations (NGOs). By encouraging them to undertake projects in your constituency, NGO's have the capacity to mobilize both financial, human and technical resources and effect development. The challenge is to identify which NGOs are working in your constituency and meeting with representatives of these NGO's. This handbook provides details of some of the NGO's currently operating in Namibia.

By working with both local and international NGO's, as an elected representative, you can help them determine what projects are priorities for your constituents. NGO's as organizations usually do not have the structure or a broad geographical constituency that an elected represented might have. Therefore such collaboration would in most cases bring mutual benefits.

By working with an NGO, you can associate yourself with the project that the NGO is undertaking and increase your popularity while at the same time, the NGO benefits by receiving constituency support which contributes to organizational credibility, a prerequisite for government and donor support. For example, an elected representative in the north knew that his constituents often drew water from polluted streams during the rainy season. The elected representative convinced an NGO to provide four shallow wells and helped supervise the project. An elected representative in the Karas region has developed a long term relationship with another international NGO that continues to fund agricultural and infrastructure projects in that region.

As an Elected Representative, you can assist your constituents in accessing business loans

The government has prioritized employment creation by assigning this portfolio to a specific government Ministry. It is a given fact that development will only come to your constituencies if the people in the constituencies are empowered through education and access to resources and opportunities. There exist different organizations in Namibia that are providing entrepreneurial training and facilities for small and medium businesses. As an elected representative, you can assist your constituents to access these facilities; you will find contact information for some of the institutions in this handbook.

Another method of promoting the development of your constituency is assisting your constituents to secure loans. A number of organizations now lend money to groups or individuals to promote private business and agriculture. As an elected representative, you can assist your constituents by providing application forms and information from lending

institutions. You can also organize constituents into groups to secure loans when necessary, helping constituents to complete loans forms, following up loan applications with lending agencies and encouraging representatives from lending agencies to visit your constituency and conduct meetings However, care should be taken when assisting your constituents with loans as this could also drive your constituents into big debts.

Added to this is the fact that not everyone in your constituency can manage a loan or a business. While most people think that they can manage a loan or a business, experience has revealed that this is not the case. Such initiatives should therefore be accompanied by capacity development and training.

As an Elected Representative, you are the people's voice in Government

Despite the limited financial resources available in Namibia, much development work in the country is still carried out by the government. As the elected representative of your constituency, you are in a unique position to help ensure that government officials in your area do their jobs and that your constituents receive a fair share of government resources.

You can encourage the civil servants working in your area by ensuring that they are working under good and reasonable conditions and lobbying Ministers to provide resources that the civil servants need to do their job more efficiently. By supporting the civil servants, you can in return demand them to fulfill their work and obligations and ensure that the government policies of which they serve are implemented.

Working with Committees

As an elected representative, it is important for you to maintain a high public profile in your constituency. As a representative of the people, you can only maintain a high profile if you are informed of issues, concerns and opportunities in your constituency and make yourself accessible to your constituents.

One of the best ways to achieve these goals is to meet with your constituents regularly and to participate on as many local committees as possible. Regular committee meetings allows you to meet with key opinion leaders, hear their views and those of your constituents and associate yourself with the work of the committees.

There are several committees engaged in different projects at any given time in your constituency. As an elected representative, you need to be up to date on the activities of these committees, and where the opportunity arise, participate or delegate someone to participate in the committee deliberations and activities. It is always important to remember that you are constitutionally recognized as the representative of the people in

your constituency, and effective representation can only be achieved through structures such as committees and interest groups at a constituency level.

The Constituency Development Committee is a very important Forum

Elected representatives, particularly those at a regional and local level are members of their respective CDCs. The CDC is an important forum where development priorities are identified and development funds are disbursed. As an elected representative, you appreciate the importance of attending CDC meetings whenever possible.

Failure to attend CDC meetings exposes you to a risk of losing the respect of important leaders such as chiefs, NGO representatives and civil servants. You also risk having developments funds spent on projects other than your own or on projects that may not be a priority for your constituents. However, as an individual, you cannot attend all the meetings all the time, and that is why it is important to establish a constituency office managed by a clerk of your choice. This handbook provides guidelines on establishing and managing an effective constituency office.

Other Committees that provide an Opportunity for Interaction

Communities in Namibia have a culture of working in groups. This historical fact still remains intact today as most constituents come together to form committees to deal with specific issues. In a particular constituency, you can find anything from a school committee, committee on women affairs (midwifery), a church committee, a sports committee or a land committee.

The unique characteristic of these committees is that they are usually either non-partisan or multi-party and they are not formed on material interest or gain, but rather on common interest and members are identified or elected based on their skills, experience and commitment.

The often consensus driven decision making process in committees adds to the value and credibility of committees. One elected representative in the Parliament of Zambia appointed representatives of donor agencies into his constituency committee. Interestingly, the donor representatives admitted that projects implemented based on a consensus reached in local committees were more successful than projects conceptualized and designed in the by technocrats in the cities.

It is important for you to maintain contact with all committees in your constituency and encourage as many committees as possible to be formed. Local committees are the ultimate structures of a decentralized constituency administration. However, care should be taken to ensure that committees do not replace or duplicate other elected structures,

but to ensure that committees are complementing such structures. By working with these local committees you can enhance your image as a representative of all your constituents and gain support among people, including those that supported other political parties during the election.

It has been proven in Namibia and all over the world that creating committees for various purposes serves as a useful tool for decision-making, public participation and development.

Reaching out to your Constituents

Public meetings are a proven effective method of keeping in touch with constituents. Your constituents want and expect you to address meetings in their areas frequently. However, as an elected representative, it is important to ensure that the meetings are not just forums for dissemination of information, but also opportunities for the constituents to give you feed back and express their views and concerns on different constituency issues. A meeting where the elected representative addresses the constituency without providing the constituency an opportunity to express their views creates a one-way channel of communication, which is often counterproductive towards constructive engagement and development.

Traditional public meetings can also be supplemented by other types of public meetings. You can call a constituency meeting to discuss a specific problem or project and allow time for the audience to ask questions and contribute to the discussion. NGOs or government officials who might be able to help solve the problem being discussed can also be invited to participate in the meeting. This type of meeting is practical in nature, geared more towards action, than just talk.

You can also open various committee meetings to the public, inviting constituents to listen to the proceedings and participate in the debate. By being open and encouraging participants to voice their concern during functions, you can increase your popularity and allow your constituents to take an active part in the life of the constituency.

Constituency Case Work

Constituency casework simply means helping individual constituents to solve problems they are facing. These problems often involve the government. In many parts of the world casework takes up a large proportion of an elected representative's time, but in Namibia the concept of case work is very new. Examples of case work include helping a pensioner who has not received his or her cheque for several moths, assisting a family who's son has been wrongfully detained by the police, or working with a widow who has lost her deceased estate to the relatives of her diseased husband. When doing casework, you use

your influence, resources and contacts in government and key positions to assist your constituents.

The idea of casework might be new to Namibia, but some elected representatives are already undertaking casework in their constituencies. While casework may only help one constituent at a time, it has potential to foster strong personal loyalty to you in the individuals you assist, and stories of your efforts circulate quickly in your constituency, making your constituents realize that you really care and that you have the capacity to solve problems.

Often, the expectations of your constituents will remain high, at times due to campaign promises, but focusing on issues and problems that are manageable proves more effective than to focus on a lot of issues and problems that you do not have the capacity to address. Casework provides a mechanism to identify and address problems that are within your capacity and mandate to address or manage.

As an Elected Representative, you need a medium of communication

As an elected representative, you need to identify mechanism to articulate your vision for your constituency and your development plans, including activities and programs that you are undertaking. Word of mouth is your most important form of publicity. However, coverage of your outreach activities on the TV, Radio or in Newspapers and magazines can be beneficial.

Media coverage of your development initiatives is a powerful tool for your constituents, partners and donors funding and supporting such initiatives. The same applies to ensuring that the print media covers your initiatives. This increases your stature in the constituency and is an effective confidence building strategy for individuals and institutions that could potentially support your vision. Donors and government officials might be more responsive to an elected representative who has a profile at a constituency, regional or national level. In other words, when you do something newsworthy in your constituency, it is in your interest to have it published or broadcast. However, the media will not automatically cover your projects, the role of a constituency office is therefore critical in ensuring that the elected representative receives the necessary publicity.

There are several things to remember when you are dealing with the media. First, do not expect reporters to come to you. You must seek the media aggressively and keep them informed of your activities. Reporters are human beings – they want to do their job with as little effort as possible, so make it easy for reporters to cover your activities.

Secondly, not everything you do in your constituency is newsworthy. Do not except reporters to cover every public meeting you have or to be interested in every project you initiate. Be selective when you write news releases or invite reporters to your constituency. Only try to get coverage for truly newsworthy events. Third, not everything

that a reporter records or writes is broadcast or printed. Reporters have bosses who must chose between many different stories each day. Do not get angry at a reporter who covered one of your activities just because the story did not appear on the TV, Radio or in the Newspapers. You should also remember that there are other elected representatives trying to have their events and projects covered as well.

Another alternative is to develop your own constituency newsletter. A constituency newsletter requires fewer resources, basically a computer, a printer and if possible a copier. In the same manner that elected representatives write letters to committees and individuals in a constituency on particular issues, a constituency newsletter is a letter from the elected representative, capturing developments in the constituency and circulated for free.

In the developing world, elected representatives enter into agreements with the business sector to advertise in the newsletter, and this ensures sustainability of the project. It is important to remember that the business sector would like to reach out to your constituents to market products. Often, the business sector does not have the structure and mechanisms of information dissemination at a constituency level. This approach therefore serves both parties and ensures quality and continuity.

The other effective means of keeping the electorate informed in through Press releases. Press releases can be cheap and effective in having your activities and projects covered by the media. It is recommendable to issue a press release whenever you accomplish a major goal, initiate a large project or do something interesting or unusual in your constituency. Do not issue a press release every time you hold a public meeting – save press release for important events.

The most important rule to remember when writing a press release is to write it exactly the way you would like it to appear in the paper or on the air. Editors are very busy people. If an editor receives a short, well written, interesting press release about a newsworthy event, he or she will often print it in the paper or broadcast it on the Radio without changing it at all. Editors are much less likely to waste their time with a press release that has to be rewritten because it is too long or poorly written. A constituency office therefore assists in ensuring quality and timely press releases.

Remember to include quotes in your press releases. You should quote yourself and other important individuals involved in the event when writing the release. You can also quote constituents who say positive things about you or the project you are writing about. Make sure you quote people exactly. Quoting people portrays constituency involvement and support in your initiatives.

Press releases should be sent to media institutions in Namibia. We have provided a list of media institutions at the end of this handbook. Press release about upcoming events or other, time sensitive issues should be faxed or sent by e-mail if possible. Press Releases

describing ongoing projects or issues can be posted to save money. You should also phone the editors of the major papers and news directors when sending very important releases to make sure they have received your press release.

Make sure you send a copy of the press release to anyone quoted or mentioned in the press release and any groups or individuals that you work with on a regular basis. Even if your press release is not published, the people you work with will be happy to receive a copy and will appreciate that you care enough about the things you are doing to inform the press.

It is important to think of the media and reporters as your friends and allies. Even if a reporter writes a negative story about you, it is better to identify a constructive approach to address the issue with the reporter. If such constructive efforts are proving unsuccessful, it is recommendable to approach the supervisors or management of the particular media institution. The worst thing for an elected representative is to become angry and confrontational with the media or a particular reporter. Experience has proven that confrontation does not produce winners, both parties potentially emerge losers and this can be detrimental to a political career.

From time to time, invite a few reporters to come to your constituency to show them the work that you are doing and let them talk to your constituents. Some newspapers feature stories on development activities or important individuals. A feature story on your constituency work could have a big impact on your popularity with your constituents and your party.

However, you should always remember that only your constituents would be voting for you in the next election. While media coverage can give you national recognition and popularity within your party, if you are not working hard in your constituency and doing what your constituents want, you will have a difficult time being re-elected. It is therefore important to strategically involve the media in your constituency work.

As an Elected Representative, you need to assess public opinion on issues

As an elected representative, you represent all the people in your constituents regardless of party affiliations. In order to effectively represent the interests of your constituents, it is important for you to know what your constituents think, what their greatest concerns are how they feel about legislation, government policies and government programs.

As an elected representative, you can learn a lot about the feeling of your constituents simply by spending time and working in your constituency. Informal conversations with constituents, public meetings and meetings of various committees all give you the opportunity to learn more about your constituents' concerns and opinions. However,

there is time when it is useful and necessary to gather public opinion in a more scientific and organized way, through public opinion research.

Formal research can allow you to gather comprehensive information in a short time and will allow you to check if your more informal methods of gauging public opinion are accurate and effective. Research conducted by people other than yourself will also give you honest and objective answers to questions that might be difficult for you to ask yourself, like "Do you think your elected representative is doing a good job?" Obtaining feedback from your constituents can assist you in prioritizing your activities and improve on areas that your constituents identify.

Formal research projects conducted by professional researchers can be complicated, time consuming and very expensive. With the limited resources that an elected representative might have, it is probably better to design, conduct and analyze a simple survey yourself, with the help of local volunteers and active party members. You might also try to use secondary school or university students to help you during holiday periods.

You can design a survey to help you identify the most pressing needs of your constituents, to evaluate your own performance as an elected representative, to gather input on an upcoming piece of legislation or to gain the opinion of your constituents towards major government policy. The results of the survey will help you decide what sector, such as water, health or education, to concentrate your efforts on, what side to take during debate over legislation, or what aspect of your personal performance needs the most improvement.

There are two basic types of public opinion surveys: quantitative surveys and qualitative surveys. Both types are described briefly below.

Quantitative Survey

Quantitative survey involves interviewing a large number of individuals, using a set questionnaire. The individual being interviewed often must answer "yes" or "no" to the questions, or must choose from a list of responses. By compiling the answers you collect from your questionnaire, you can estimate what percentage of your constituents feel a certain way about a particular question and why they feel that way. For example, if you asked 100 of your constituents "Do you think Namibia should have an Anti Corruption-Bureau?" and 85 people said "yes", and 15 people said "no", you could estimate that 85 percent of your constituents are in favor of having an Anti-Corruption Bureau. You could also ask, "What is the biggest problem you face in your village?" and provide a list of possible answers that the person being interviewed can chose from.

The advantage of a quantitative survey is that it is fairly easy to design and analyze the findings. You can easily calculate percentages from the answers you receive. Numerical data can also be a very powerful tool for an elected representative. Saying "my research

indicates that 85% of my constituents want Ant-Corruption Bureau" can have much greater impact than saying "A lot of my constituents want an Anti-Corruption Bureau."

The disadvantage of a quantitative survey is that, to be statistically valid, you need to interview a large number of people. This can sometimes become time—consuming and expensive. Another drawback is that quantitative research does not always tell why a person feels the way they do about an issue, or how strong their feelings or opinion are. Eighty-five percent of your constituents might say they are in favor of an Anti-Corruption Bureau, but many of them might not have thought about the issue before asked the question, or might think that some other issues are much more important than the question you are asking.

Qualitative Survey

Another method of conducting research is through qualitative research. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research includes many less structured survey methods such as key informant interviews, free-form interviews and focus group discussions.

During qualitative research, the questions asked are open-ended, and the person being interviewed answers in his or her own words. Qualitative research does not provide numerical results, but it does allow for in- depth examination of peoples' opinions and can help explain why people feel the way they do.

Focus group discussions are a relatively simple form of quantitative research that you can carry out in your constituency. To conduct a focus group discussion, you need to assemble a group of eight to ten people from the demographic group you wish to gather information from. For example, you might want to talk to a group of voting-age women, or to a group of male and female farmers. The group is then asked questions from a discussion guide. It is important to ensure all participants have an opportunity to speak, and that the discussion guide is used only as a guide, not as a rigid questionnaire. A typical focus group discussion lasts between one and two hours while one or two individuals record detailed notes. After conducting discussions with several different groups of people in different parts of your constituency, you can review the results and form conclusions about how your constituents feel about different issues.

For example, during a focus group discussion, you can ask, "What do you think are the most important issues in this constituency?" The answers you receive will not allow you to say, for example, "Seventy percent of my constituents think crime is their greatest concern" but the answers will allow you to say, for example, "Crime is a major concern for many of my constituents, and they feel much more strongly about this issue than about transportation problems in the area." Qualitative research allows you to do this because issues are discussed thoroughly before arriving at a conclusion.

The advantage of qualitative research is that it provides an in-depth view of your constituents' thoughts and concerns, and can also be conducted on an ongoing basis, simply by talking to constituents and meeting with groups of people in your constituency to discuss important issues.

More formal, structured qualitative surveys such as focus groups, however, need to be designed carefully and carried out by trained individuals. The data collected is also more difficult to analyze compared to quantitative data, since there are no simple "yes" or "no" answers, and you cannot calculate percentages or proportions. As an elected representative, you should be conducting informal quantitative research continuously while you are in your constituency, but you might want to ask someone from the University of Namibia or an NGO before you attempt to carry out a formal survey. High School and University Students can also be useful in conducting research.

Setting up and managing a Constituency Office

The previous sections have highlighted different strategies and suggestions on managing an effective constituency outreach program. However, to successfully establish and manage a constituency program, an elected representative can not operate or work alone. There is a need to establish a constituency office for every elected representative, managed by a person who is either identified by the elected representative or assigned by government.

Among other functions, the constituency manager or clerk is responsible for the day to day management of the constituency office on behalf of the elected representative. It would be unrealistic to expect the elected representative to draft press releases, maintain a record of development projects in the constituency and keep track of all constituency organizations working in a constituency. The role of a constituency manager or clerk is therefore to assist the elected representative to serve his or her constituents in a more effectively manner.

However, while a constituency office is important for an elected representative to manage constituency affairs, there are pros and cons for such an establishment.

The biggest advantages of a constituency office include:

- A constituency office can convey a sense of permanence about the elected representative to the constituents
- A constituency office ensures that there is always a physical site for meetings, programs, issues, concerns and constituency administration.
- Constituents identify one central location through which they can contact and reach their elected representative.

- There is one central location where resources, such as materials can be obtained or disseminated.
- Information regarding development in a particular constituency can be obtained at one central location. This is important for NGO and donor partners that are interested in working in your constituency
- A constituency office, whether it is in a house, an old shop and proper office premises symbolizes organizational capabilities and seriousness, both of which are prerequisites for government, donor and NGO support.
- The world is moving at a fast pace, where information and access to it has become a catalyst for development. Through a constituency office, management and access to information is institutionalized An informed constituency is likely to lead in development than a constituency that is in the dark.

However, there are also some know disadvantages for establishing a constituency office:

- A constituency office may inhibit legislators from thinking creatively about how to reach out to the constituents. A constituency office is not an end in itself, but only one of several mechanisms for reaching out to the constituents and managing constituency issues.
- Opening a constituency office is only one part of a constituency outreach program
- A constituency office is only as effective as the elected representative managing it. A constituency office can not manage an elected representative, but vice versa.

International experience has proven that even a highly efficient constituency office cannot replace regular visits by an elected representative to his or her constituents and the need to constantly explore creative ways and means of reaching out and involving the constituents in the decision making process.

What follows are some of the projects currently going on in Namibia and the organizations and institutions supporting and implementing the programs? You will also find a list or local non-governmental organizations and their contact information. The information contained in this handbook should guide you in familiarizing yourself with development initiatives taking place in your constituency or other constituencies. There is no guarantee that you will access resources through this guide, however, you can always identify programs that have been successfully implemented in other parts of the country and explore the possibility of adopting the concepts and strategies in your own constituency.

As an elected representative, you can also use this guide to establish contact with development agencies, governmental, non-governmental and international.

You will also find a sample program proposal that can guide you when preparing a funding proposal for a constituency project.

Proposal Writing

This section focuses on the subject of proposal writing for constituency projects and non-profit organizations. The paper is intended to assist in developing a new constituency project proposal or renewing an existing grant.

This document is not in anyway intended to be prescriptive, however, it captures the frequently used international methods, strategies and standards. In addition, proposal writing does not stand-alone; it must be part of a process that includes planning and research for potential partners and donors. It is also important that a proposal should not only aim for financial support. As an elected representative, you can develop a proposal seeking for technical assistance on a particular constituency project or material support such as equipment or tools. This guideline therefore provides tips for planning and conducting research for the purpose of proposal writing.

Because constituency projects are non-profit making entities, the proposal writing process is grounded on the conviction that a partnership should develop between a particular constituency project and a donor. It is important to remember that even he donors work equally hard to acquire financial resources, and sometime the resources being used come from taxpayers in other countries. Therefore these often-scarce financial resources can not be easily given away. On the other hand, financial resources contributed by a donor have no value until they are attached to solid programs in the nonprofit sector, in particular, the communities and this becomes the basis for an ideal partnership between a grantor and a grantee.

The partnership is based on the fact that the constituents have the ideas and the capacity to address constituency needs, but no finances with which to implement them. The donors on the other hand have the financial resources but not the other resources needed to create and implement programs in needy communities.

When the two are brought together effectively, the result is a dynamic collaboration. However, this is not an automatic process, there is a need to follow a step-by-step process in the search for donor funds and this takes time and persistence to succeed. After you have written a proposal, it could take as long as a year to obtain the funds needed to carry out the proposed program. Sometimes even a perfectly written proposal submitted to the right prospect may be rejected.

Raising funds is an investment in the future; therefore the aim should be to build a network of different sources of funding or donors. These donors vary; some may just provide equipment as a donation while others might provide periodic grants. By doggedly pursuing the various steps of the fundraising process, each year a constituency project or different projects can retain regular donors and strike a balance with the comings and goings of larger donors.

The recommended process is not a formula to be rigidly adhered to. It is rather a suggested approach that can be adapted to fit the needs of any constituency based nonprofit entity and the peculiarities of each situation. Fundraising is an art as well as a science. Therefore as an elected representative, you and your constituents must bring your own creativity to it and remain flexible.

Gathering Background Information

The first thing you will need to do in writing the master proposal is to gather the documentation for it. You will require background documentation in the following key areas:

- 1. Concept,
- 2. Goals and Objectives
- 3. Program, and
- 4. Expenses.

If all of this information is not readily available to you, determine who will help you in gathering each type of information. If you are part of a small or rural constituency with little access to resources and expertise, a knowledgeable teacher or government official from the community will be the logical choice. If you are with a larger or urban-based constituency, there should be non-profit entities or party officials, including teachers and students that can play a crucial role in gathering the necessary information.

Once you know with whom to talk, you next task is to identify the questions to ask. This information gathering process makes the actual proposal writing much easier. And by involving other stakeholders and experts in the process, it also helps key people within your constituency to seriously appreciate the value of the project.

Goals and Objectives

Every proposal should have clearly defined goals and objectives. The goals and objectives provide an idea on what you are intending to achieve within a particular

period. The goals and objectives section also outlines how the project will benefit the constituents and the practical outcomes.

A project proposal without clear goals and objectives is like traveling on a road without a clear destination, you can not determine how far you have gone and the distance that remains. Clear goals and objects serve as a road map for yourself as an elected leader, your constituents and the donors. Goals and objectives also assist you and your community in determining the cost effectiveness of the project and what is needed to implement the project.

Concept

It is important that you have a good sense of how the project fits into the needs, aspirations and priorities of your constituents. The need that the proposal is addressing must also be documented. These concepts must be well articulated in the proposal. Donors want to know that a project reinforces the overall direction of your constituency, and they may need to be convinced that the case for the project is compelling. You should also collect background information on your constituency and on the needs and priorities to be addressed so that your arguments are well documented.

Program

Here is a checklist of the program information that you require:

- 1. the nature of the project and how it will be conducted;
- 2. the timetable for the project;
- 3. the anticipated outcomes and how best to evaluate the results; and
- 4. resources, skills and expertise needed to successfully implement the project.

Expenses

You will not be able to pin down all the expenses and costs associated with the project until the program details and timing have been worked out. Thus, the main financial data gathering takes place after the narrative part of the master proposal has been written. Remember to cost the self-help component of your constituents as well. This constitutes your contribution towards to the total financial cost of the project.

However, at this stage you do need to sketch out the broad outlines of the budget to be sure that the costs are in reasonable proportion to the outcomes you anticipate. If it appears that the costs will be prohibitive, you should then scale back your plans or adjust them to remove the least cost-effective expenditures. Avoid unrealistic projections in your budget; ensure that your estimates are realistic.

Components of a Proposal

- Executive Summary: umbrella statement of your case and summary of the entire proposal (approximately 1 page)
- Statement of Need: why this project is necessary (approximately 2 pages)
- **Project Description:** nuts and bolts of how the project will be implemented (approximately 3 pages)
- **Budget:** financial description of the project plus explanatory notes (approximately 1 page)
- **Historical Information:** a background of your constituency and any constituency project that you have conducted in the past; how you conducted the project, who benefited and how the project has been sustained (approximately 1 page)
- Conclusion: summary of the proposal's main points (approximately 2 paragraphs)

The Executive Summary

This first page of the proposal is the most important section of the entire document. Here you will provide the reader with a snapshot of what is to follow. Specifically, it summarizes all of the key information and is a sales document designed to convince the reader that this project should be considered for support. Be certain to include the following:

Problem — a brief statement of the problem or need your constituency has identified and is prepared to address (one or two paragraphs);

Solution — a short description of the project, including what will take place and how many people will benefit from the program, how and where it will take place, for how long, and who will take a lead in implementing the project (one or two paragraphs);

Funding requirements — an explanation of the amount of financial resources required for the project and your sustainability plans (one paragraph); and

Constituency expertise — a brief statement of the history, purpose, and activities of your constituency, emphasizing its capacity to carry out this project. (One paragraph).

The Statement of Need

If the donor reads beyond the executive summary, you have successfully aroused his or her interest. Your next task is to build on this initial interest in your project by enabling the donor to understand the problem that the project will remedy.

The statement of need will enable the reader to learn more about the issues. It presents the facts and evidence that support the need for the project and establishes that your constituents understands the problems and therefore can reasonably address them. The information used to support the case can come from authorities in the field, as well as from your constituency experience.

You want the need section to be brief, yet persuasive. Like a good debater, you must assemble all the arguments. Then present them in a logical sequence that will readily convince the reader of their importance. As you marshal your arguments, consider the following six points.

- 1. First, decide which facts or statistics best support the project. Be sure the information you present is accurate. There are few things more embarrassing than to have the donor tell you that your information is out of date or incorrect. Remember that some donors might have more information about your constituency, or the might have the capacity to conduct independent investigation or research in your constituency.
- 2. Information that is too generic or broad will not help you develop a winning argument for your project, remember that there are other constituencies that are interested or might have already applied for the same support or funding. Information that does not relate to your constituency or the project you are presenting will cause the donor to question the entire proposal. There also should be a balance between the information presented and the scale of the program.
- 3. Second, give the reader hope. The picture you paint should not be so grim that the solution appears hopeless. The donor will wonder whether an investment in a solution will be worthwhile. Avoid overstatement and overly emotional appeals.
- 4. Third, decide if you want to put your project forward as a model. This could expand the base of potential donors, but serving as a model works only for certain types of projects. Don't try to make this argument if it doesn't really fit. Donors may well expect your constituency project to follow through with a replication plan if you present your project as a model. If the decision about a model is affirmative, you should document how the problem you are addressing occurs in other constituencies. Be sure to explain how your solution could be a solution for others as well.

- 5. Fourth, determine whether it is reasonable to portray the need as acute. You are asking the donor to pay more attention to your proposal because either the problem you address is worse than others, or the solution you are proposing makes more sense than others.
- 6. Fifth, decide whether you can demonstrate that your project addresses the need differently or better than other projects that preceded it. It is often difficult to describe the need for your project without being critical of the competition. But you must be careful not to do so. Being critical of other organizations implementing constituency projects will not be well received by the donor. It may cause the donor to look more carefully at your own project to see why you felt you had to build your case by demeaning others. The donor may have invested in these other projects or may begin to consider them, now that you have brought them to their attention.

If possible, you should make it clear that you are cognizant of, and on good terms with, others doing work in your constituency. Keep in mind that today's donors are very interested in collaboration. They may even ask why you are not collaborating with those you view as key competitors. So at the least you need to describe how your work complements, but does not duplicate, the work of others. As an elected representative, you are in a better position to play a coordinating role, since you are constitutionally accountable to the people and the government.

7. Sixth, avoid circular reasoning. In circular reasoning, you present the absence of your solution as the actual problem. Then your solution is offered as the way to solve the problem. For example, the circular reasoning for starting a constituency project might go like this: "The problem is that we have no constituency project. Starting a constituency project will solve the problem." A more persuasive case would cite what a constituency project has meant to a neighboring constituency or in a neighboring country, for example, permitting it to offer access to information and creating a forum for communities to exchange views on an issue such as HIV-AIDS.

The Project Description

This section of your proposal should have four subsections: objectives, methods, human resources/skills/capacity, and evaluation. Together, objectives and methods dictate human resource, skills and capacity requirements. They then become the focus of the evaluation to assess the results of the project. Taken together, the four subsectors present an interlocking picture of the total project.

Objectives:

Objectives are the measurable outcomes of the program. They define your methods. Your objectives must be tangible, specific, concrete, measurable, and achievable in a specified

time period. Grantseekers often confuse objectives with goals, which are conceptual and more abstract.

For the purpose of illustration, here is the goal of a project with a subsidiary objective:

"Goal: Our constituency project will help the constituency to understand government policies better."

"Objective: Our constituency project will assist four communities in constituency "X" to understand the implications of the HIV-AIDS problem on peasant farmers.

The goal in this case is abstract: improving constituency understanding of government the impact of HIV-AIDS on peasant farmers, while the objective is much more specific. It is achievable in the short term (six months) and measurable. With competition for donor funds so great, well-articulated objectives are increasingly critical to a proposal's success.

Using a different example, there are at least four types of objectives:

- Behavioral A human action is anticipated. For example; "Given the necessary access to a constituency project, 60% of constituency members will participate in the policy development process"
- Performance A specific time frame, within which a behavior will occur, at an expected proficiency level, is expected. For example; "by the end of the first year, 40% of the participating constituency members will understand the implications of HIV/AIDS on peasant farmers.
- Process The manner in which something occurs is not an end in itself.
 Example: We will document the most successful projects as a result of the funding, noting the different project elements that draw the interest of the people, with active constituency participation and noting the methods utilized, identifying the methods and strategies with the greatest success to be used as lessons in future.
- Product A tangible item result. Example: A manual will be created to be used in addressing the HIV/AIDS problem.

In any given proposal, you will find yourself setting forth one or more of these types of objectives, depending on the nature of your project. Be certain to present the objectives very clearly. Make sure that they do not become lost in verbosity and that they stand out on the page. You might, for example, use numbers, bullets, or indentations to denote the objectives in the text. Above all, be realistic in setting objectives. Don't promise what you can't deliver. Remember that the donor will want to be told in the final report that the project actually accomplished these objectives.

Methods

By means of the objectives, you have explained to the donor what will be achieved by the project. The methods section describes the specific activities that will take place to achieve the objectives. It might be helpful to divide the discussion of methods into the following:

How....!When....!Why.....!

How: This is the detailed description of what will occur from the time the project begins until it is completed. Your methods should match the previously stated objectives.

When: The methods section should present the order and timing for the tasks. It might make sense to provide a time frame or a work-plan so that the reader does not have to map out the sequencing on his own. The timetable tells the reader "when" and provides another summary of the project that supports the rest of the methods section.

Why: You may need to defend your chosen methods, especially if they are new or uncommon. Why will the planned work lead to the outcomes you anticipate? You can answer this question in a number of ways, including using expert testimony and examples of other projects that have worked in other constituencies.

The methods section enables the reader to visualize the implementation of the project. It should convince the reader that your office and your constituents know what you are doing, thereby establishing credibility.

Human resources, skills and capacity

In describing the methods, you will have mentioned human resource and skills requirements for the project. You now need to devote a few sentences outlining the groups within your constituency committed to this project, is it the youth, women or pensioners, their qualifications, skill levels and the specific roles that they will play in making the project a success. Details constituency members with specific skills related to the project should be included either as part of this section or in the appendix, depending on the length and importance of this information. This will assure the donors that you have the capacity to undertake the initiative and produce results.

Human resources encompass both paid and volunteer resources from within or outside your constituency. Describing tasks that volunteers from your constituency will undertake can be helpful to the proposal reader. Such information underscores the value added by the volunteers as well as the cost-effectiveness of the project. It also demonstrates the commitment of your constituents towards the project.

Describe for the reader your plans for administering the project. This is especially important in a large operation, if other civic, community based or non-governmental organizations are collaborating on the project. It should also be crystal clear who is responsible for financial management, project outcomes, and reporting.

Evaluation

An evaluation plan should not be considered only after the project is over; it should be built into the project. Including an evaluation plan in your proposal indicates that you take your objectives seriously and want to know how well you have achieved them. Evaluation is also a sound management tool. Like strategic planning, it helps you refine and improve your project. An evaluation can often be the best means for others to learn from your experience in conducting the project.

There are two types of formal evaluation. One measures the product; the other analyzes the process. Either or both might be appropriate to your project. The approach you choose will depend on the nature of the project and its objectives. For either type, you will need to describe the manner in which evaluation information will be collected and how this information will be analyzed. You should present your plan for how the evaluation and its results will be reported and the audience to which it will be directed.

For example, it might be used internally or be shared with the donor, or it might deserve a wider audience including the constituency and if necessary, government or your political party. It is however important to consult your partners or donors on the scope of the dissemination.

The Budget

The budget for your proposal may be as simple as a one-page statement of projected expenses. Or your proposal may require a more complex presentation, perhaps including a page on projected support and revenue and notes explaining various items of expense or of revenue

Expense Budget: As you prepare to assemble the budget, go back through the proposal narrative and make a list of all human resource, material and equipment items related to the operation of the project. Be sure that you list not only new costs that will be incurred if the project is funded but also any ongoing expenses for items that will be allocated to the project. You may need to estimate the proportions of your constituency's ongoing expenses that should be charged to the project and any new costs, such as salaries for individuals not yet hired. Put the costs you have identified next to each item on your list.

Your list of budget items and the calculations you have done to arrive at a figure for each item should be summarized on worksheets. You should keep these to remind yourself how the numbers were developed. These worksheets can be useful as you continue to develop the proposal and discuss it with donors; they are also a valuable tool for monitoring the project once it is under way and for reporting after completion of the

With your worksheets in hand, you are ready to prepare the expense budget. For most projects, costs should be grouped into sub-categories, selected to reflect the critical areas of expense. All significant costs should be broken out within the sub-categories, but small ones can be combined on one line. You might divide your expense budget into personnel and non-personnel costs; your personnel sub-categories might include salaries, benefits, and consultants. Sub-categories under non-personnel costs might include travel, equipment, and printing, for example, with a figure attached to each line.

Budget Narrative: A narrative portion of the budget is used to explain any unusual line items in the budget and is not always needed. If costs are straightforward and the numbers tell the story clearly, explanations are redundant. If you decide a budget narrative is needed, you can structure it in one of two ways. You can create "Notes to the Budget," with footnote-style numbers on the line items in the budget keyed to numbered explanations. If an extensive or more general explanation is required, you can structure the budget narrative as straight text. Remember though, the basic narrative about the project and your organization belongs elsewhere in the proposal, not in the budget narrative.

Constituency Background Information and Conclusion

Normally a background of your constituency project should come at the end of your proposal. Your natural inclination may be to put this information up front in the document. But it is usually better to sell the need for your project and then your constituency's ability to carry it out.

It is not necessary to overwhelm the reader with facts about your constituency. This information can be conveyed easily by attaching a brochure or other prepared statements. In two pages or less, tell the reader when your constituency came up with the project; restate the aims and objectives of the project and the mission or vision of your constituency. You should be certain to demonstrate how the subject of the proposal fits within or extends that vision; and describe the constituency's structure, committees, different projects and special expertise and experience present in your constituency.

Conclusion

Every proposal should have a concluding paragraph or two. This is a good place to call attention to the future, after the grant is completed. If appropriate, you should outline

some of the follow-up activities that might be undertaken to begin to prepare your donors for your next request. Alternatively, you should state how the project might carry on without further grant support, **your sustainability strategy.**

This section is also the place to make a final appeal for your project. Briefly reiterate what your constituency wants to do and why it is important. Underscore why your constituency needs funding to accomplish it. Don't be afraid at this stage to use a bit of emotion to solidify your case.

What Happens Next?

Submitting your proposal is nowhere near the end of your involvement in the fundraising process. Grant review procedures vary widely, and the decision-making process can take anywhere from a few weeks to a year. During the review process, the donor may ask for additional information either directly from you or from outside consultants or professional references. Invariably, this is a difficult time for you as a grant seeker. You need to be patient but persistent.

Some donors outline their review procedures in annual reports or application guidelines. If you are unclear about the process, don't hesitate to ask.

If your hard work results in a grant, take a few moments to acknowledge the donors support with a letter of thanks. You also need to find out whether the donor has specific forms, procedures, and deadlines for reporting the progress of your project.

Clarifying your responsibilities as a grantee at the outset, particularly with respect to financial reporting, will prevent misunderstandings and more serious problems later.

On the other hand, rejection is not necessarily the end of the process. If you're unsure why your proposal was rejected, ask. Did the donor need additional information? Would they be interested in considering the proposal at a future date? Now might also be the time to begin cultivation of another prospective donor. Put them on your mailing list so that they can become further acquainted with your organization. Remember that there's always next year.

All this can be achieved if elected representative have the capacity at a constituency level to identify donors, conduct basic research, mobilize constituents and draft proposals. A constituency outreach program, aimed at developing the capacity of constituency human resources or staff would go a long way in ensuring that elected representatives are assisted in addressing the needs of the people that elected them.

The section that follows provides you with information on different projects and programs currently taking place in Namibia. As an elected representative, you need to

have an idea of the human, technical and financial resources available in Namibia. But more importantly, you need to have an idea of what others are doing, what has worked and what has not worked, and draw lessons from those practical experiences for your own constituency. The list that follows is not exhaustive, and it does not follow a particular order. It is rather, just a random sample of organizations, both local and international that are involved in development work.

Political Party Capacity Building Programme

Manual

Developed by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) with support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for use by all political parties in Namibia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

Overview	1
Small Group Discussion #1 – Characteristics of Effective Poli	
What are the Functions of Political Parties?	
Concerns about Political Parties	5
What makes Political Parties Democratic?	6
Party Unity	7
Attributes and Strategies of Political Parties	8
Party Organisation	
Exercise #1 – Party Message Development	10
Party Message Development	
Small Group Discussion #2 – Party Message Development	14
Exercise #2 – Voter Contact	15
Voter Contact	16
Working with the Media	18
Party Internal Communications	20
Exercise #3 – Membership Recruitment	21
Membership Recruitment	22
Exercise #4 – Volunteer Mobilisation	24
Volunteer Mobilisation	25
Strategic Planning for Elections	26
Small Group Discussion #3 – Strategic Election Planning	30
Voter Targeting	31
Exercise #5 – Voter Targeting	33
Resource Mobilisation	34
Small Group Discussion #4 – Resource Mobilisation	39
Voter Education	40
Get out the Vote (GOTV)	41
Party Poll Watching	42
Sample Form #1 – Poll Watching Form	44

Overview

Political parties are crucial to democracy. They serve to bring like-minded people together within a society to strive for a common goal. They provide policy ideas about how a society should be governed. They identify and train political leaders. They also act as a link between citizens and their government.

Too often little attention is given to the development of strong political parties. More concern is often paid to the establishment of governmental bodies and civic organisations. Both of these institutions are important. However, without strong and dynamic political parties democracy cannot survive in the long run.

Politics, politicians and political parties are also sometimes viewed negatively by the public. Some think that politics is a dirty business and that politicians and political parties are corrupt. However, politics is a noble pursuit. It is ultimately about serving the public and improving the lives of citizens. You should be proud to be involved in politics and to be a member of your political party. Further, there is a political dimension to every aspect of life and politics, therefore, is unavoidable.

Political parties are not only made up of their leaders. Without networks of activists/members no party could function or be successful. It is critical that not only leaders, but all party structures understand the importance of political parties and how they function.

In the 14 years since Independence, political parties in Namibia have developed considerably. However, political parties, just as any other institution, should continuously seek to enhance their capacity in response to changing circumstances. Political parties, like all organisations, will decline over time if they do not make conscious efforts to strengthen themselves.

This manual was developed on the premise that political parties are important and that politics is fundamentally a noble pursuit. It also recognises that parties in Namibia already have significant capacity. The manual is intended to provide information on why parties exist and how they function.

It is hoped that information contained in this will help political parties in Namibia to continue to be vibrant organisations that are able to respond to the changing needs of the Namibian people and develop into professional organisations.

DISCUSSION #1

Small Group Discussion #1 – Characteristics of Effective Political Parties

As a small group, discuss the following questions. From among your group you should select a facilitator to guide the conversation and a rapportuer to take notes and to report back to the plenary. Each time you break into small groups, you should chose a new facilitator and rapportuer.

- 1. What do political parties do?
- 2. Why are political parties important?
- 3. What makes political parties effective?

PARTY FUNCTIONS

What are the Functions of Political Parties?

Political parties serve a number of functions in any democratic system. Among other reasons, political parties exist to:

- contest and win elections to gain control of government institutions in order to implement their policies;
- bring together different people and groups with common values and ideas;
- provide policy alternatives;
- ▶ identify and train political leaders; and
- serve as a link between citizens and government.

Political parties are an important part of democracy. The Constitution of Namibia gives its citizens the right to freely come together to form and support political parties of their choice.

"All citizens shall have the right to participate in peaceful political activity intended to influence the composition and policies of the Government. All citizens shall have the right to form and join political parties and; subject to such qualifications prescribed by law as are necessary in a democratic society to participate in the conduct of public affairs, whether directly or through freely chosen representatives." *Namibian Constitution Article 17(1)*

CONCERNS ABOUT PARTIE

Concerns about Political Parties

While political parties serve important functions in a democracy, some people view political parties negatively.

Political competition is at time seen as destabilising. Particularly in new democracies, there is often a desire for peace and stability. Competition between political parties can be viewed as a threat to that stability. To counter this, political parties should find a way to compete within politically acceptable bounds that do not undermine the stability of the country. Opposition parties should acknowledge the right of ruling parties to govern and ruling parties should accept the right of opposition parties to criticise. Further, all political parties, government and opposition, have an obligation to represent the interests of those citizens who voted for them.

However, competition between political parties is not all bad. Competition also serves to make parties more responsive to voters, motivates parties to develop new ideas and to reach out to new groups of citizens. Winners should be magnanimous and realise that tomorrow they could loose. Losers should realise that there is always another election (at a different level of government or another time in the future) and the outcome could be different.

Some people also view politics and political parties as corrupt and having a corrupting influence on society. Politics, however, is a noble pursuit. It is ultimately about public service and improving the lives of citizens. Political parties exist to help people solve the problems they face in their daily lives. Political parties can counter negative perceptions by being open in their conduct and accountable in their actions.

NTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY

What makes Political Parties Democratic?

A vibrant multi-party democracy requires parties that are themselves internally democratic. Political parties that are not internally committed to democratic principles will likely fail to adhere to democratic values in their actions. Importantly, parties that are internally democratic are more likely to be successful over time and to be able to adapt to new challenges and changing political realities.

Political parties which are internally democratic:

- ▶ Allow members to express their views freely;
- Encourage participation of all members;
- Promote the membership of women (and other politically marginalised groups);
- ► Tolerate differing ideas;
- Abide by agreed upon rules and procedures for decision-making; and
- Hold leaders accountable to members and supporters.

Political parties that lack internal democracy are characterised by:

- Isolated and unchanging leadership;
- ► Marginalised party members; and
- Poor internal communication.

Party Unity

For political parties to be effective, their members need to adhere to a common vision and follow rules of the party. A political party should be cohesive. Party's cannot tolerate members who:

- fundamentally disagree with the leadership and ideas of the party;
- are loyal to other parties; or
- ▶ refuse to work within the party structure.

Parties that are unable to maintain discipline will likely cease to be coherent organisations.

At the same time, political parties that don't permit a divergence of views and who don't tolerate any individual initiative on the part of their members are likely to become stagnant over time.

Political parties should strive to balance the need for ideological consistency and organisational coherence with the need for new ideas and innovations.

ATTRIBUTES STRATEGI

Attributes and Strategies of Political Parties

Political parties need a variety of resources to be successful.

Political parties at a minimum need to have:

- ► Ideas for improving the country;
- ► Rules and structures (Constitution);
- ► Leaders;
- ► Members; and
- ► Resources (financial and in-kind).

Beyond these attributes a successful party also needs to have strategies to:

- Develop the party;
- Internal party communications;
- ► Membership recruitment;
- Explain its ideas to the public (and the media);
- Raise resources (and expending funds);
- ► Contest elections;
- ▶ Recruit candidates;
- ► Campaign; and
- ► Monitor the election process.

PARTY ORGANISATION

Party Organisation

A party with good ideas, committed leaders and a large number of members can still fail to achieve its goals. Too often political parties make the mistake of devoting all of their resources and energy to short-term election campaigns, rather than to building and maintaining a solid democratic party organisation. Party organisation should be a priority for party leaders before issues of campaign organisation are addressed.

Political parties should be organised and managed no differently than other successful organisations. At the most basic level, this means that a successful party will a have a clear internal structure that is well known and understood by its members. It is critical that people know:

- where they fall within a party's structure;
- what their roles and responsibilities are based on their position within the structure; and
- the roles and responsibilities of other positions within the structure.

New political parties are often so busy that they don't spend the time necessary to develop an efficient structure. Longer established parties in many cases take the party structure for granted and don't realise the importance of reviewing the structure to adapt to emerging trends and priorities.

In addition, time and energy should be spent instructing new members and refreshing old members on the importance and nature of the party's structure. As political parties are always expanding their membership this is an ongoing activity.

Finally, a party's structure does not need to be fixed. Rather it may change over time. As conditions change a party may change its structure to adapt to new political realities.

EXERCISE #1

Exercise #1 – Party Message Development

What are three attributes of a good political party message?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

ESSAG DEVELOPMENT

Party Message Development

Party messages are used to inform the public about what a party stands for and to convince people to support the party. A party uses messages to demonstrate to people that it has a vision and a plan by developing persuasive messages. A party that cannot effectively communicate its vision and plan to voters will not be successful. In its simplest form a party message is a statement of why someone should become a party member (or vote for a party or its candidate on election day).

The test of a good message comes when a party member can give a concise, persuasive reply to the question "why should I support your party or candidate?" The member's answer to that question should be the party's message.

Party messages should be backed up with a policy of how the party is going to achieve what it stands for or how it is going to prevent what it is against. For example if your party is for job creation, how does your party intend to create more jobs.

Party Messages should be:

- ► Formulated in advanced and used by the whole party Good messages cannot be created spontaneously and need to be used by all party members.
- ▶ *Brief* The best messages can be communicated in one or two sentences.
- ► Easy to understand The words that are used should be understandable to the audience.
- ► Unique A party's message will be ineffective if citizens do not associate it solely with the party.
- ➤ True It is very easy to get a reputation as a party that says things that are not true. People will lose faith with a party that does not tell the truth.

► Positive – Effective messages should give people hope that, if the party comes to power (or remains in power) that their life will improve.

If a message is going to help a party, it should be used often and effectively. All party members should be educated about the message at meetings and through newsletters Party leaders should make sure their words and actions support the message. It is critical to stay "on message." By promoting the party message consistently people will eventually identify the message solely with the party.

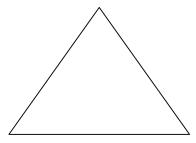
Message Triangle

A message triangle is a tool for analysing the effectiveness of party messages when delivered to the public. A message triangle involves three interrelated questions.

- ▶ What is the key point the message is trying to communicate?
- ▶ How is the message expressed to people?
- ► How is the message understood by people?

Ideally, the answer to all these questions should be the same. In reality, though, this is not always the case

Key Point of Message



How Message is Expressed

How Message is Understood

Good messages fall inside the message triangle.

ESSAG DEVELOPMENT

Seven Steps to Building and Using an Effective Message

- 1. Listen to the people and learn from their concerns.
- 2. Formulate ideas to address their concerns based on your party's vision.
- 3. Develop policies and ideas that you can be implemented if you win an election to address those concerns.
- 4. Draft a message that is brief, easy to understand, unique, true, and positive.
- 5. Test your message on small sample groups.
- 6. Find, and create, opportunities to use your message.
- 7. Stick to your message and make sure everyone in the party understands and uses the message.

DISCUSSION #2

Small Group Discussion #2 – Party Message Development

As a small group, develop up to three sample messages for your party. Think about the following questions:

- ► What is the policy to back up your message (how would your party accomplish this message?
- ► How will different groups interpret your message (use the message triangle to analyse)?
- ► Is your message brief, easy to understand, unique, true, and positive?
- What is unique about your message in comparison to competing messages?

From among your group you should select a facilitator to guide the conversation and a rapportuer to take notes and to report back to the plenary. Each time you break into a small group you should choose a new facilitator and rapportuer.

EXERCISE #2

Exercise #2 – Voter Contact

What are three different ways of getting out one's message to the public? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each method?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

VOTER CONTACT

Voter Contact

There are many different ways to make contact with voters. Some of the ways available are:

- ► Television (paid advertisements, free advertisements, and news coverage)
- Radio (paid advertisements, free advertisements, and news coverage)
- ► Newspapers (paid advertisements, free advertisements, and news coverage)
- ► Emails and SMSs
- ▶ Telephone
- ▶ Mail
- Posters and Billboards
- ▶ Rallies
- ▶ Small meetings
- ▶ One-on-one conversations

An effective communication strategy will use all of these techniques to reach the public. However a detailed plan is needed on where, when and why to use each method.

Direct contact between party members and the public though one-on-one conversation or small meetings are often the most effective way to attract new members and support. However, these can also be the most time consuming and expensive methods.

Other techniques, such as television and radio can reach a large number of people quickly and often relatively cheaply. However, they are not as effective. They are often most

useful for reinforcing messages that have already been delivered first on a one-on-one or small group basis.

Television, radio and newspaper advertisements as well as posters, billboards and large rallies provide only one-way flows of information while one-on-one interaction or small meetings provide an opportunity for two-way communication. Thus the latter give parties a chance to learn from voters and engage in a dialogue with them.

As much as possible, political parties should try to record information about their direct contact with voters. Every time there is direct contact between a party member and a voter the date of the interaction, the nature of the interaction and the likelihood that this individual will support your party should ideally be recorded.

Thus parties should strive not only to have accurate lists of their party members, but also geographic lists of those people who are:

- very likely to vote for the party;
- might vote for the party; and
- will definitely not vote for the party.

This information can be used in the future to target campaign activities specifically to those most likely to support your party.

WORKING WITH THE MED!

Working with the Media

Good media coverage is not an accident. It takes hard word to develop strong relationships with journalists as well as newspapers, radio stations and television stations.

Tips for strengthening relations with the press:

- Remember that it takes time to build good media coverage;
- Develop a press contact list for all media outlets;
- Meet regularly and in person with editors and journalists from all media outlets to develop personal relationships;
- Offer suggestions to editors and journalists of possible story topics; and
- ► Remember that journalists are not your enemy, they are simply doing a their job.

When organising a media event, consider doing the following:

- Send out a short "press advisory" a week before via fax that quickly gives the who, where, when, and why of the event (this is different and shorter than a press statement).
- Call press the following day to make sure that they have received the "press advisory" and inquire if they intend on sending someone to the event and who that person will be.
- ► The day before the event send out the "press advisory" again reminding journalists of the event.
- ► That same day call journalists as well to confirm that they will be attending.

WORKING WITH THE

- ► At the event, hand out a press release to all journalists who attend the event. Also, send the press release to all media outlets regardless of whether they attend your event.
- At the event speak, with journalists and make sure that they have gotten all of the information that they need. Offer to provide them with additional information if necessary.
- After a story appears in the press about the event, call the journalist to thank them for the story about your event (regardless of whether it was a good story or not). If you were happy with the story, tell the journalist why it was good. If you were unhappy, in a constructive way explain to the journalist how the story could have been improved.

When talking with journalists remember:

- ▶ Don't speak off the record If you don't want it in the media, don't say it.
- ▶ Don't say no comment This gives control of the story to someone else and doesn't make a bad story go away.
- ▶ Don't speak off the cuff Think before you speak.
- ▶ Don't lie Sooner or latter the truth will catch up with you.
- ► Don't argue There is nothing to be gained from fighting with a journalist.

(adapted from Women's Campaign International)

NTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Party Internal Communications

While external communication is important, the need for effective and efficient internal party communication cannot be over emphasised. A party's leadership should inform members of party positions while at the same time members should be able to share their ideas and concerns with the leadership. If a party cannot communicate effectively among its own leaders and members, it is unlikely to be successful contesting elections or governing.

A party should have good two-way internal communications. There should be mechanisms not only for members to communicate with the leadership, but also for the leadership to communicate with the members.

Good internal party communication requires:

- routine mechanisms for sharing information; and
- record keeping.

There should be routine opportunities to share information within the party and these should be known to all members. Such methods include party meetings newsletters and communication trees. It is important that meetings are held and newsletters appear on a regular and known basis and that everyone in a communication tree knows to whom to pass messages.

Two kinds of record keeping are critical to effective internal communications.

- First, a party should have an accurate list of its members that includes at least: the positions they hold (if any); where they are located, and how they can be contacted.
- Second, there should also be accurate and concise records of party communications.

Exercise #3 – Membership Recruitment

What are three reasons why members are important to political parties?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

EXERCISE #3

П MBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

Membership Recruitment

Members are the lifeblood of any political party. However, some political parties give too little attention to membership recruitment. The reasons that recruitment is not made a priority include:

- membership recruitment is seen as too difficult, time consuming and costly;
- belief that the party does not need members to win elections; and
- new members are seen as a threat because they may propose new policies and leadership.

The simple truth is that any political party will be more successful in promoting its policy agenda and electing candidates, if it can increase its membership. A party's members are its greatest resources. Members bring:

- votes
- ideas
- energy
- skills
- money

The most effective means of recruiting new members is by door-to-door personal visits. In urban areas it may be possible to solicit new members via mail and telephone. However, even in urban areas direct face-to-face contact is best.

When meeting with people, members should be polite at all times; introduce themselves and their party; address the residents by name; provide them with information about the party and what it stand for (messages); and summarise the main reasons to join the party.

Records should be kept of each person with whom members met. Some people might not want to join right away, but may need more time. A second visit can be scheduled for a latter date for those people who appear interested.

The party should maintain a list of all party members. This is very important. Well-organised, updated lists can be used for a variety of purposes, including: fundraising, volunteer recruitment and campaigning.

After a recruitment drive in an area, an event should be organised to bring new members together with the party leadership and older members.

Door-to-door campaigns are only one technique for recruiting new members. Parties can organise political events or recreational or cultural activities that will attract a large number of people who can be asked if they are interested in joining the party. Also, the party can try to take advantage of other events. For example, it may be possible for the party to set up a booth at an event to provide information on the party and why people should join.

Importantly, every interaction between your party and citizens should be recorded for later use. It is vital that the party have records of all of the individuals with which contact has been made; those individuals support the party, those that might support the party; and those that will never support the party.

EXERCISE #4

Exercise #4 – Volunteer Mobilisation

What are three barriers to political parties mobilising volunteers to help them?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

What are three ways that political parties can encourage volunteers to work for the them?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

VOLUNTEER MOBILISATION

Volunteer Mobilisation

Just as it is inconceivable to think of a democratic society without active citizens, it is also impossible to think of a political party without active members. Yet, all-too-often parties do not provide opportunities for members to contribute. Rather, they only call upon their members to vote for them on election day. If members at the grassroots feel that they are unimportant and have no opportunities to contribute, they probably will not remain with the party very long.

One way to engage members is to have them volunteer to perform some function for the party. Volunteers are needed to:

- recruit new members;
- campaign for the party and the party's candidates;
- conduct voter education and get out the vote; and
- observe the election process as party agents.

All of these activities need large amounts of people to accomplish. Further, each activity requires a hierarchy of people with different skills and levels of responsibility. All except the most senior positions are well suited for volunteers drawn from a party's members.

It is important to provide volunteers with training so that they have the specific skills necessary for their assigned task and so that they are aware of the party's expectations.

Volunteers need to be compensated, but this does not have to be financial. Giving certificates and mentioning the contribution of members in a party newsletter can often replace monetary rewards. Volunteers should always be thanked for their time and services. They should also be evaluated and those who perform well should be given more responsibility in the future.

STRATEGI **LECTION PLANNING**

Strategic Planning for Elections

Strategic planning is an ongoing process that determines what an organisation will be in the future and what paths the organisation will take to get there. Thus, it involves:

- developing a vision for the future; and
- identifying the activities, skills and resources necessary to achieve that vision.

Strategic planning serves, among other things, to:

- 1. Clearly define the purpose of the organization and to establish realistic goals and objectives consistent with that mission in a defined time frame within the organization's capacity for implementation.
- 2. Communicate those goals and objectives to the organization's constituents.
- 3. Ensure the most effective use is made of the organization's resources by focusing the resources on the key priorities.
- 4. Provide a base from which progress can be measured and establish a mechanism for informed change when needed.
- 5. Provides clearer focus of organization, producing more efficiency and effectiveness.

Political parties should have two interrelated strategic plans. A party should have plans for:

- ▶ the overall development of the party; and
- ▶ how the party will contest an election.

While these two types of plans are obviously related they are not the same thing. A party should have a plan for its

own development independent of one for how it will contest elections.

With respect to strategic planning to contest an election, the natural place to start is with a realistic goal for the party's electoral performance (this would be the party's vision for the future with respect to the election).

Performing a SWOT analysis can help a party formulate a realistic goal. SWOT analysis looks at four issues:

- Strengths;
- ▶ Weaknesses
- Opportunities; and
- ▶ Threats.

SWOT Analysis	Internal	External	
Positive	Strengths	Opportunities	
Negative	Weaknesses	Threats	

By analysing these four perspectives of a political party, it is possible to come up with a realistic goal for a party's performance during a given election.

However, it is not enough to simply have a goal for a party's performance in an election, there needs to be a way of achieving that goal. What steps is a party going to take to reach its objective?

Here it is important to look at a number of different areas, including:

- Candidate selection
- ▶ Candidate nomination
- ► Campaigning Electronic Media

- ► Campaigning Print Media
- Campaigning Printed Material (Posters and Billboards)
- ► Campaigning Rallies
- Campaigning Telephone and Mailings
- ► Campaigning Door-to-Door Contact
- ▶ Voter Education
- ▶ Get Out the Vote
- ▶ Party Poll Watching
- ► Resource Mobilisation (Financial and In-Kind)
- Volunteer Mobilisation

SWOT analysis could be conducted in each area. For each area sub-goals can be identified and concrete activities defined to achieve those goals. Further, a time line for those activities should be constructed and the human and financial resources (and other materials) needed for each activity identified.

It is important to prioritise. It may not be possible to do all of these things or to do them all to the degree the party would like. Some of the main factors that limit a party's activities:

- 1. time;
- 2. human resources; and
- 3. financial resources.

Planning will not solve all of a party's problems and there are pitfalls to the planning process itself. Those pitfalls include:

STRATEGI **LECTION PLANNING**

- planning is only as good as the information on which it is based;
- planning isn't magic (you can't always get what you want);
- planning shouldn't be too rigid (a plan is only a guide and needs to be able to adapt to changing circumstances);
- time and energy must be devoted to planning for it to succeed;
- don't let planning become a substitute for action;
- don't rely on generic approaches to strategic planning; and
- a plan that isn't written down in "easy to understand" language won't be used.

(adapted from "The Pitfalls of Planning" by Arlene Goldbard)

Sample Strategic Planning - Action Plan

1. Overall Goal (performance in a particular election)

Win 15 seats in the National Assembly

1.1 Objective (for example with respect campaigning - print media)

To reach 50,000 voters with our messages via The New Era and Die Republikein four times before election day.

1.1.1 Activity

Write opinion piece for the Die Republikein on the importance of the Walvis Bay port.

When

To appear 2 months before the election.

Who

Party Secretary for Economics

Cost

None

Other Requirements

Computer to write opinion piece and background articles on Walvis Bay and its port.

DISCUSSION #3

Small Group Discussion #3 – Strategic Election Planning

As a small group, conduct a SWOT analysis of your party in general and develop goals for the regional council, national assembly and presidential elections.

Further, choose up to three of the following areas and conduct a SWOT analysis for those specific areas. Again, develop specific objectives and develop concrete activities that the party could conduct to achieve those objectives. Think about the human and financial resources needed for each activity.

From among your group you should select a facilitator to guide the conversation and a rapportuer to take notes and to report back to the plenary. Each time you break into a small group you should choose a new facilitator and rapportuer.

VOTER TARGETING

Voter Targeting

A central aspect of any election strategy is understanding who is most likely to vote for your party and its candidates. Voter targeting is the concept of focusing campaign activities on those individuals who are most likely to support your party.

All individuals in a country can be divided into two categories:

- Those eligible to vote; and
- ► Those ineligible to vote.

During an election, there is no reason to waste any of a party's limited resources (time, money, people) trying to convince those who are ineligible to vote to support your party. However, between elections there may be reason to seek members among those who are not currently eligible to vote, but who will be eligible to vote in the future.

Among those eligible to vote, there are three types of individuals:

- Those who will never support your party no matter what;
- Those who might support your party, but don't currently; and
- 3. Those who will always support your party.

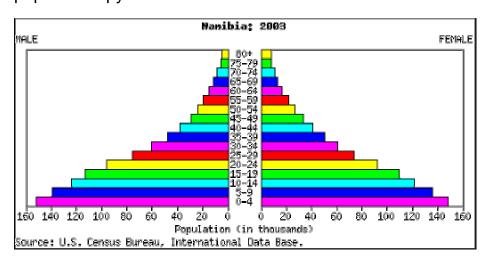
Voter targeting argues that during an election all of a party's efforts should focus on eligible voters and that most resources (time, money and people) should be expended on individuals who will always support your party followed by individuals who might support your party. Only very limited resources should be devoted to those individuals who will never support your party.

It is important for a political party to determine who fits into each of these three categories and to understand where, when and how to best reach those in the last two (those who may and those who always will support your party). Often these different categories will be differentiated by age, geography, gender, employment and so on.

Understanding who is most likely to support your party (and least likely) can help make your party activities more efficient. Voter targeting is important for conducting membership drives, carrying out voter education, campaigning; and engaging in get out the vote (GOTV) activities. In each case, parties have very limited resources (time, money and people). Voter targeting helps parties maximise their resources.

In analysing voters it is also important to look at demographics. How is the population distributed by: age, gender, geography and ethnicity and what implications do these have for elections?

For example, how the population of a country is distributed has implications for political parties. Younger voters tend to think and behave differently than older voters and different campaigning techniques are more effective with younger verses older voters. The chart below shows the population "pyramid" for Namibia in 2003.



Exercise #5 – Voter Targeting

Complete the following table. In doing so, think about geography, ethnicity, age, gender, occupation, etc.

Voter Targeting	Groups
Always Support Your Party	
Might Support Your Party	
Never Support Your Party	

Resource Mobilisation

A universal lament of political party organisers is, "if we only had more money, we could get our message out, recruit more members, buy more office equipment or run better campaigns." Unfortunately, for most political parties, money is usually in short supply. While some countries provide funding for political party operations, particularly around election time, there is never enough money, even for wealthy parties, to do everything.

Resource mobilisation must be a top priority of any party and this priority should be reflected in a party's organisational structure and staffing. At the national level, there should be a person responsible for developing an overall fundraising strategy. However, fundraising should not be limited to only the national level. There should be individuals at the sub-national level whose responsibility is to mobilise resources for the party (in coordination with the national director).

Most of the time resources are thought of in terms of money. Money is often the most useful because it can be used to purchase other things and people's time. However, it is important to think outside the box. In mobilising resources parties should also think about gifts in kind (such as the use of a computer) or human resources (such as a graphic designer volunteering her time). Thus, parties should try to mobilise:

- Monetary contributions;
- ► In-kind donations or loans; and
- ► Skills.

It is important for parties to develop a resource mobilisation strategy. This strategy explains:

What are the goals (how much money, in-kind donations and skills will be raised)?

- ▶ Where will the resources (money, in-kind donations, and skills) come from?
- ► How much will resource mobilisation activities cost in terms of human and financial resources (it costs money to make money)?
- Who will keep track of the resources?
- ▶ When can the party expect to receive the resources?

As with strategic planning, a SWOT analysis can help a party to answer these questions.

There are a variety of techniques for mobilising resources. A resource mobilisation strategy usually involves a mixture of a number of different strategies. Some mobilisation techniques are:

- Personal requests by party leaders and members;
- Use of a mobilisation committee;
- ► Events:
- ► Sale of memorabilia;
- ▶ Solicitation letters;
- ► Solicitation phone calls;
- Writing proposals for funding of projects; and
- Internet websites.

Personal requests are usually the most effective. Party members are most likely to respond favourably to personal requests. The amount of money that members will contribute is likely to vary. Those members who contribute larger sums or who contribute regularly should be rewarded with a letter, telephone call or visit from the party leader or a member of the party's senior leadership. Some political parties will reward those individuals who

SOURCE MOBILISATION

consistently contribute to the party by inviting them to special functions where the party leadership and other dignitaries will be present.

Those requests that are specific and give a reason for needing the funds are most likely to be successful.

Consider the following two attempts to solicit contributions.

Example A

You, a party activist, knock at a door and Esau opens it.

Esau: Hello. What do you want?

Party Activist: My party is raising some money. Can you donate?

Esau: For what?

Party Activist: Well, our chairman said we have no funds so we are

going around asking for donations.

Esau: For what?

Party Activist: Well, aah, so that our party can have some funds ...

Esau: For what?

Party Activist: Eh ... you see, the chairman ...

Esau: Get out of here and don't come back!

Example B

You, a party activist, knock at a door and Esau opens it.

Esau: Hello. What do you want?

Party Activist: Good morning Esau. I am from the Farmers' Party and

we are trying to improve sanitation in the local market. We need some money for that, and I am asking if you can

contribute something.

Esau: You want to build new toilets?

Party Activist: Not yet, but eventually we will. Right now, we are

concerned about the rubbish that is piling up because people are throwing cola bottles and plastic bags

carelessly.

Esau: But can money remove the garbage?

Party Activist: When we raise enough money, we want to buy gloves for

volunteers who will do the cleaning. We also need to buy shovels, wheelbarrows, rakes and chemicals. After that, we will buy dustbins where people can drop the rubbish and those bins will be collected by a tractor, which we

shall hire every week. Maybe you would consider

donating N\$20.

Esau: Your plan sounds good. However, I don't have cash, but I

can donate a dustbin that I am not using. Now how do I know you are not going to secretly sell the dustbin and

buy beer for yourself?

Party Activist: I will issue you a receipt for your donation and at the end

of the clean-up work, we shall send you an explanation of

how all the donations were used.

Esau: Okay. Get the bin and good luck – what party did you say

this was?

Party Activist: The Farmers Party. We are located in Mandume

Ndemufayo Street, Uhuru Building, Office Number 4. You

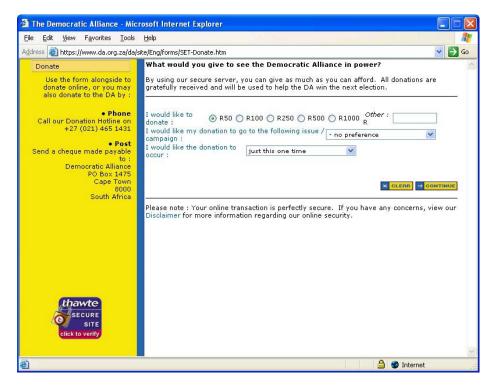
are welcome to visit our office any time you feel like coming. Thank you for your donation.

Another technique is the use of a mobilisation committee. Such a committee comprises men and women who will actively help raise money by soliciting contributions from their friends, relatives, fellow workers, business associates, etc. The best people to recruit for a mobilisation committee are individuals who have a large network of contacts and are willing to ask their contact to make a contribution.

Events are often used by political parties to raise resources (as well as new members). Often political parties organise one or more annual events that become, over time, dependable sources of revenue. These events can include dinners or braais at which a prominent speaker is featured or awards are given to deserving party members and others. Auctions, picnics, and musical performances are other events that can be used to mobilise resources. Events provide a good opportunity for parties to obtain "inkind" contributions.

Telephone and direct mail solicitation are also used by political parties to raise funds. While not everyone in Namibia is easily reachable by telephone or mail, those individuals who are most likely to be in a position to contribute to political parties are likely to have both a telephone and a post office box.

The Internet also provides an easy and cost effective way to permit party supporters to contribute to your party.



It is critical that accurate and up-to-date lists are maintained containing:

- everyone who has been contacted to make a contribution to the party;
- the means by which they were contacted;
- whether they contributed to the party; and
- how much they contributed.

Further each person who makes a contribution should be thanked by the party.

DISCUSSION #4

Small Group Discussion #4 – Resource Mobilisation

As a small group develop a resource mobilisation plan for a single regional council, presidential election. In doing so you should think about the following questions:

How much do you want to raise?

What can you raise in cash, in-kind donations, and volunteered services?

What activities will you use to raise these resources (be creative)?

How much will it cost to conduct your resource mobilisation activities?

Also, think about different messages that you can use to raise funds through personal requests. As a small group develop messages that can be used to solicit funds.

From among your group you should select a facilitator to guide the conversation and a rapportuer to take notes and to report back to the plenary. Each time you break into small group you should chose a new facilitator and rapportuer.

VOTER EDUCATION

Voter Education

Too often political parties see voter education as the responsibility of only election officials and civic organisations. However, having an educated electorate is of great concern to political parties.

Voter education serves to explain to voters:

- Why it is important to vote;
- Where, when and how to register to vote; and
- Where, when and how to vote.

If those who support your party don't know why voting is important; don't know how to register to vote; and don't know how to vote then they are unlikely to go to the polls on election day and correctly mark their ballot for your party.

Therefore, it is in the interest of your party to conduct voter education exercises for your party's supporters and potential supporters.

In conducting voter education activities it is important to not only focus on the mechanics of registering to vote and voting, but also why it is important to vote. Citizens who do not view voting as an important activity unto itself are unlikely to go to the polls on election day.

ET OUT THE VOTE (GOTV)

Get out the Vote (GOTV)

Get out the vote (GOTV) are techniques designed to increase voter turnout on election day. Political parties have a direct interest in increasing voter turnout. Citizens cannot cast votes from their homes. Not only must the supporters of your party register to vote, but they must go and vote on election day. If they don't vote they cannot help your party win an election.

GOTV activities involve making contact with those individuals who will definitely vote for your party and those who are very likely to vote for your party just prior to election day to remind them and encourage them to vote (similar exercises can be done to get people to register to vote – often referred to as voter registration drives).

In order for a GOTV exercise to be effective, a party must have as accurate and up-to-date as possible information on who supports the party.

In Namibia, all campaign activities must stop 24 hours before the opening of the polls. This limits the techniques available for GOTV. However, on the last day of the campaign, political parties can remind their supporters to vote:

- Send letters:
- Telephone (SMS);
- ► Place posters;
- Place advertisements (in papers and on television and radio); and,
- ▶ Go door-to-door.

PARTY POLL WATCHING

Party Poll Watching

Party poll watching is the effort by a political party to deploy party members to polling stations and counting centres on election day to observe the conduct of voting and counting.

Party poll watching serves to:

- deter human errors and manipulation;
- expose human errors and manipulation that may occur;
- provide political parties with detailed information on the conduct of an election;
- engage political parties in the electoral process;
- build confidence in the electoral process; and
- strengthen political parties.

There are four levels to party poll watching.

- 1. Presence Political parties are able to deploy party poll watchers to polling stations and counting centres.
- 2. Documentation Party poll watchers are not merely present at polling stations, but also record what they observe.
- 3. Reporting Reports by party poll watchers are collected and quickly transmitted to party headquarters.
- Analysis Collected reports are quickly entered into a computer database for analysis of overall trends and localised patterns.

A party poll watching exercise involves the following steps:

▶ Recruit volunteers from party members.

- ► Train volunteers on the election procedures; what may go wrong; what to do when something goes wrong; and how to complete the reporting form.
- Deploy volunteers to polling stations and counting centres.
- Collect completed reporting forms from party poll watchers at polling stations and counting centres.
- ▶ Transmit reporting forms to a central location.
- ► Enter reporting forms into a computer database and analyse results.
- ► Thank poll watchers and evaluate performance of poll watchers.

Beyond poll watchers at polling stations and counting centres, a successful poll watching exercise requires a hierarchy of people to recruit and train poll watchers as well as to move the completed reporting forms from individual polling stations to a central location.

In addition, such an exercise needs people with specialised skills. It needs a logistics person to create a system for moving the completed reporting forms; a database expert to design and manage the database; data entry staff to input the forms into the database; and a statistician to analyse the data.

Election day is not the only time that political parties might want to monitor the electoral process. Parties have an interest in monitoring all the different phases of an election. Political parties often monitor the voter registration process and conduct studies of the resulting voter registry/list to determine how accurate, comprehensive and up to date it is.

Sample Form #1 – Poll Watching Form

The following is an example of a form that can be used by party poll watchers to record the conduct of voting. It is not only critical that such forms are distributed to poll watchers and completed, but also that they are collected in a timely fashion, entered into a computer and the resulting data analysed.

	Sample Party Poll Watching					
1.	Poll Watcher's Name					
2.	Poll Watcher's First Name					
3.	Poll Watcher's ID Number					
4.	Polling Station					
5.	Region					
6.	Time Arrived at Polling Station					
7.	Time Polling Station Opened					
8.	Did the Polling Station have sufficient materials?	Yes	No			
9.	Did the Polling Station have sufficient staff?	Yes	No			
10.	Was the polling station set up so voters could mark their ballots in secret?	Yes	No			
11.	Were polling officials knowledgeable and non- partisan?	Yes	No			
12.	Did security officials unnecessarily interfere with the voting process?	Yes	No			
13.	Did anyone attempt to disrupt voting?	Yes	No			
14.	Was anyone allowed to vote who you believe is ineligible?	Yes	No			
15.	Was anyone not permitted to vote you believe is eligible?	Yes	No			
16.	Did voting stop for any reason?	Yes	No			
17.	What time did voting finish?					
18.	Was everyone in the queue at closing time permitted to vote?	Yes	No			
19.	Signature					